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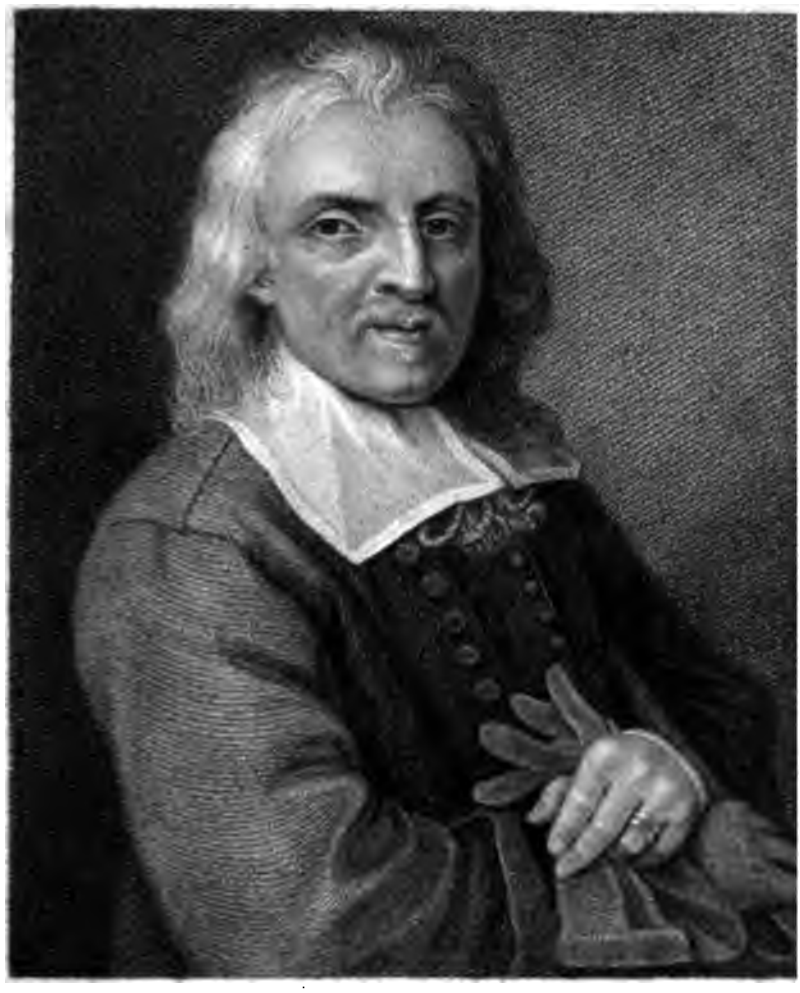

Drawn by [illegible]

[illegible]

ISAAC WALTON.

The Original Painted by [illegible] in the Possession of [illegible] Esq. at [illegible] Lodge

THE

Lives

OF

DR. JOHN DONNE;—SIR HENRY WOTTON;

R. RICHARD HOOKER;—MR. GEORGE HERBERT;

AND

DR. ROBERT SANDERSON.

To which is now first added,

LOVE AND TRUTH.

BY ISAAC WALTON.

WITH

NOTES, AND THE LIFE OF THE AUTHOR,

BY THOMAS ZOUCH, D.D. F.L.S.

PREBENDARY OF DURHAM.

THE WERE HONOURABLE MEN IN THEIR GENERATIONS.....ECCLES. xliv. 7.

THE THIRD EDITION.

VOLUME I.

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1817.

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NEW YORK

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

SIR RICHARD PEPPER ARDEN,

MASTER OF THE ROLLS, AND ONE OF HIS MAJESTY'S MOST HONOURABLE PRIVY COUNCIL.

SIR,

PERFECTLY sensible of that regard which you entertain for the virtuous character, I experience no difficulty in committing to your patronage a new edition of the following pages.—They contain portraits of genuine excellence, finished by no unskilful artist. Charmed from my earliest years with their captivating beauties, I shall probably be deemed a partial and prejudiced spectator. Be this as it may—when I request your permission to inscribe to you a volume which exhibits a full and adequate representation of persons eminent for their great and amiable qualities, I am confident of your kind indulgence. I am,

SIR, with all possible respect,

your Honour's most obliged

and devoted servant,

THOMAS ZOUCH.

WYCLIFFE, JAN. 16, 1796.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

It will be necessary to observe, that a more full and particular account of several of our English Divines and other eminent persons mentioned in this volume might easily have been introduced. But such a detail would have far exceeded the bounds of my plan, which was only to intersperse some traits of their characters, some short extracts from, or references to their works, sufficient to incite in the reader a desire of acquiring a more intimate knowledge of them, by a diligent examination of their writings, or a more enlarged inquiry into their lives.

In compliance with a request made by the late Mr. Gilbert Wakefield, the note relative to his remark on the venerable Richard Hooker is omitted in this edition.

The Editor has been blamed for his attempt to embellish this volume with the portraits of those good men whose lives are recorded in it. He makes no apology. The satisfaction, which is not seldom derived to him from contemplating the portraits of excellent men, may be attributed to the delusions of fancy, or the temerity of groundless conjecture. However this may be, he can surely incur no great degree of just rebuke for in-

the dignity of Lord High Chancellor. He was formerly Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, having previously acquired those academical honours which are conferred upon classic and mathematical erudition. His professional learning and talents were universally acknowledged. Totally removed from a haughty demeanour, he uniformly endeared himself to all who knew him, by the suavity of his disposition, and the innocent cheerfulness of his conversation. He discharged the relative duties of life with fidelity and honour.

Impressed with a strong sense of the intrinsic worth of Christianity, he conformed his life to its precepts, and was himself an amiable example of that goodness which it enjoins. A true and firm friend to our ecclesiastical constitution, he was a serious and constant attendant on the services of the Church. From the period of his early years to his demise, he was the dear and intimate friend of Mr. William Pitt; of that great and good man, whose pre-eminent merit, while it is the admiration of the present age, will command the approbation and applause of the latest posterity.

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RIGHT HONOURABLE AND REVEREND

FATHER IN GOD, GEORGE,

LORD BISHOP OF WINCHESTER,

AND PRELATE OF THE MOST NOBLE ORDER OF THE GARTER[a].

MY LORD,

I DID some years past, present you with a plain relation of the life of Mr. Richard Hooker, that humble man, to whose memory princes, and the most learned of this nation, have paid a reverence

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[a] Dr. George Morley, distinguished by his unshaken loyalty and attachment to Charles I. was, at the Restoration, first made Dean of Christ-church, and then Bishop of Worcester. In 1662 he was translated to the see of Winchester. Though nominated one of the Assembly of Divines, he never did them the honour, nor himself the injury, to sit among them. During his absence from his native country, he endeared himself to several learned foreigners, particularly to Andrew Rivettus, Heinsius, Salmasius, and Bochart. He constantly attended the young exiled King; but not being permitted to follow him into Scotland, he retired to Antwerp, where for about three or four

at the mention of his name. And now, with Mr. Hooker's, I present you also the life of that pattern of primitive piety, Mr. George Herbert; and, with his, the life of Dr. Donne, and your friend Sir Henry Wotton, all reprinted.—The two first were written under your roof; for which reason, if they were worth it, you might justly challenge a Dedication: And indeed, so you might of Dr. Donne's and Sir Henry Wotton's; because, if I had been fit for this undertaking, it would not have been by acquired learning or study, but by the advantage of forty years friendship, and thereby with hearing and discoursing with your Lordship, that hath enabled me to make the relation of these lives passable (if they prove so) in an eloquent and captious age.

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years he read the service of the Church of England twice every day, catechized once a week, and administered the communion once a month to all the English in the town who could come to it; regularly and strictly observing all the parochial duties of a clergyman, as he did afterwards at Breda for four years together. Walker, in his History of the Sufferings of the Clergy, having quoted Anthony Wood's character of this prelate, concludes with this exclamation: "O that but a single portion of his spirit might always rest on the established clergy!" He died in 1684. *(Le Neve, Fuller, and Wood.)*

And indeed, my Lord, though these relations be well-meant sacrifices to the memory of these worthy men, yet I have so little confidence in my performance, that I beg pardon for superscribing your name to them, and desire all that know your Lordship, to apprehend this not as a Dedication (at least by which you receive any addition of honour), but rather as an humble, and a more public acknowledgment of your long-continued, and your now daily favours to,

My Lord,

Your most affectionate

And most humble servant,

IZAAK WALTON.

TO THE READER.

THOUGH the several introductions to these several lives have partly declared the reasons how, and why I undertook them, yet since they are come to be reviewed, and augmented, and reprinted, and the four are now become one book[b], I desire leave to inform you that shall become my reader, that when I sometimes look back upon my education and mean abilities, it is not without some little wonder at myself, that I am come to be publicly in print[c]. And though I have in those introductions declared some of the accidental reasons that occasioned me to be so, yet let me add this to what is there said, that by my undertaking to collect some notes for Sir Henry Wotton's writing the Life of Dr. Donne[d], and

[b] He had not then written the Life of Bishop Sanderson.

[c] In the preceding Epistle Dedicatory, our Author modestly resigns all claim to "acquired learning or study."

[d] Sir Henry Wotton addressed the following letter to Mr. Isaac Walton,

by Sir Henry Wotton's dying before he performed it, I became like those men that enter easily into a law-suit or a quarrel, and having begun, cannot make a fair retreat and be quiet, when they desire it.—And really, after such a manner, I became engaged into a necessity of writing the Life of Dr. Donne, contrary to my first intentions; and that begot a like necessity of

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Walton, who had requested him to perform his promise of writing the Life of Dr. Donne:

"MY WORTHY FRIEND,

"I am not able to yield any reason, no not so much as may "satisfie myself, why a most ingenuous letter of yours hath "lain so long by me (as it were in lavender) without an "answer, save this only, the pleasure I have taken in your "style and conceptions, together with a meditation of the "subject you propound, may seem to have cast me into a "gentle slumber. But, being now awaked, I do herein return "you most hearty thanks for the kind prosecution of your "first motion, touching a just office due to the memory of "our ever-memorable friend; to whose good fame, though "it be needless to add any thing (and, my age considered, "almost hopeless from my pen), yet I will endeavour to "perform my promise, if it were but even for this cause, "that in saying somewhat of the life of so deserving a man, "I may perchance over-live mine own.

"That which you add of Dr. King (now made Dean of "Rochester, and by that translated into my native soil) is a "great spur unto me; with whom I hope shortly to confer "about it in my passage towards Boughton Malherb (which "was my genial air), and invite him to a friendship with "that family, where his predecessor was familiarly acquainted. "I shall write to you at large by the next messenger (being

"at

writing the Life of his and my ever-honoured friend, Sir Henry Wotton.

And having writ these two lives, I lay quiet twenty years, without a thought of either troubling myself or others, by any new engagement in this kind; for I thought I knew my unfitness. But, about that time, Dr. Gauden[e] (then Lord Bishop

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"at present a little in business), and then I shall set down "certain general heads, wherein I desire information by your "loving diligence; hoping shortly to have your own ever-"welcome company in this approaching time of the *fly* and "the *cork*. And so I rest your very hearty poor friend to "serve you. H. WOTTON."

(Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 360. edit. 3.)

[e]Dr. JOHN GAUDEN, born at Mayland in Essex, educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, was Dean of Bocking, and Master of the Temple, in the beginning of the reign of Charles I. In 1660 he was made Bishop of Exeter, and from thence promoted to Worcester in 1662, in which year he died, aged 57 years. "When Archbishop Sheldon acquainted the "King that Bishop Gauden was dead," his Majesty replied, "that he made no doubt but it would be easy to find a more "worthy person to fill his place."

(Life of Dr. John Barwick, p. 360.)

Whatever credit may be due to the animadversions of several writers on the conduct of Dr. Gauden, which in some instances was certainly indefensible, it will be only an act of justice to intimate, that the editor of the works of Mr. Richard Hooker, and the author of the Memoirs of the Life of Bishop Brownrigg, and of many other valuable writings, deserves much of posterity. His way of preaching is said to have been most admirable

of Exeter) published the Life of Mr. Richard Hooker (so he called it), with so many dangerous mistakes, both of him and his books, that discoursing of them with his Grace Gilbert, that now is Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, he enjoined me to examine some circumstances, and then rectify the Bishop's mistakes, by giving the world a fuller and truer account of Mr. Hooker and his books than that bishop had done; and I know I have done so. And let me tell the reader, that till his Grace had laid this injunction upon me, I could not admit a thought of any fitness in me to undertake it; but when he twice had enjoined me to it, I then declined my own, and trusted his judgment, and submitted to his commands; concluding, that if I did not, I could

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admirable and edifying. Charles II. when he nominated him to the See of Exeter, bore this testimony to his merit, by observing, "That he, upon all occasions, had taken worthy "pains in the pulpit and at the press to rescue his Majesty "and the church of England from all the mistakes and "heterodox opinions of several and different factions; as also "from the sacrilegious hands of those false brethren, whose "scandalous conversation was consummate in devouring church-"lands, and then with impudence to make sacrilege lawful." (*Wood's Ath. Ox. vol.* ii. *col.* 208.)——It must be owned, that he was one of the Assembly of Divines in 1643, and that he took the covenant; to which, however, he made some scruples and objections, so that his name was soon struck out of the the list. He abandoned the cause of the Parliament as soon as they relinquished their first avowed principles of reforming only, instead of extirpating Monarchy and Episcopacy.

not forbear accusing myself of disobedience, and indeed of ingratitude, for his many favours. Thus I became engaged into the third life.

For the life of that great example of holiness, Mr. George Herbert, I profess it to be so far a free-will offering, that it was writ chiefly to please myself, but yet not without some respect to posterity: For though he was not a man that the next age can forget, yet many of his particular acts and virtues might have been neglected, or lost, if I had not collected and presented them to the imitation of those that shall succeed us: For I humbly conceive writing to be both a safer and truer preserver of men's virtuous actions than tradition; especially as it is managed in this age. And I am also to tell the reader, that though this life of Mr. Herbert was not by me writ in haste, yet I intended it a review before it should be made public; but that was not allowed me, by reason of my absence from London when it was printing: so that the reader may find in it some mistakes, some double expressions, and some not very proper, and some that might have been contracted, and some faults that are not justly chargeable upon me, but the printer; and yet I hope none so great, as may not, by this confession, purchase pardon from a good-natured reader.

And now I wish, that as that learned Jew, Josephus, and others, so these men had also writ

their own lives; but since it is not the fashion of these times, I wish their relations or friends would do it for them, before delays make it too difficult. And I desire this the more, because it is an honour due to the dead, and a generous debt due to those that shall live and succeed us, and would to them prove both a content and satisfaction. For when the next age shall (as this does) admire the learning and clear reason which that excellent casuist Dr. Sanderson (the late Bishop of Lincoln) hath demonstrated in his sermons and other writings; who, if they love virtue, would not rejoice to know, that this good man was as remarkable for the meekness and innocence of his life, as for his great and useful learning; and indeed as remarkable for his fortitude in his long and patient suffering (under them that then called themselves the godly party) for that doctrine which he had preached and printed in the happy days of the nation's and the church's peace? And who would not be content to have the like account of Dr. Field[f], that great schoolman, and others of noted learning? And though I cannot hope that my

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[f] Dr. RICHARD FIELD, Chaplain to James I. and Dean of Gloucester, died Nov. 21, 1616,—the friend of Mr. Richard Hooker, and one of the most learned men of his age. He was the author of a work entitled, "Of the Church, fol. 1610."—James I. when he first heard him preach, said, "This is a *Field* "for God to dwell in."—With the same allusion Fuller calls him that

example or reason can persuade to this undertaking, yet I please myself, that I shall conclude my preface with wishing that it were so.

I. W.

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that learned divine, "whose memory smelleth like a *Field* that "the Lord hath blessed."—Anthony Wood mentions a manuscript, written by Nathaniel Field, Rector of Stourton, in Wiltshire, containing "some short Memorials concerning the Life of "that Rev. Divine, Dr. Richard Field, Prebendary of Wind-"sor," &c. The feature which peculiarly marked his disposition, was an aversion to those disputes on the Arminian points, which then began to disturb the peace of the church, and from which he dreaded the most unhappy consequences. It was his ambition to conciliate, not to irritate.

TO MY OLD AND MOST WORTHY FRIEND,

Mr. IZAAK WALTON,

ON HIS

LIFE OF DOCTOR DONNE, &c.

When, to a Nation's loss, the virtuous die,
There's justly due from ev'ry hand and eye
That can, or write, or weep, an elegy.

Which though it be the poorest, cheapest way,
The debt we owe great merits, to defray,
Yet it is almost all that most men pay.

And these are monuments of so short date,
That with their birth they oft receive their fate;
Dying with those whom they would celebrate.

And though to verse great reverence is due,
Yet what most poets write proves so untrue,
It renders truth in verse suspected too.

Something more sacred then, and more entire
The memories of virtuous men require,
Than what may with their funeral-torch expire:

This history can give; to which alone
The privilege to mate oblivion
Is granted, when deny'd to brass and stone.

Wherein, my friend, you have a hand so sure,
Your truths so candid are, your style so pure,
That what you write may Envy's search endure.

Your pen, disdaining to be brib'd or prest,
Flows without vanity, or interest;
A virtue with which few good pens are blest.

How happy was my father then [g]! to see
Those men he lov'd, by him he lov'd, to be
Rescu'd from frailties and mortality.

Wotton and Donne, to whom his soul was knit,
Those twins of virtue, eloquence and wit,
He saw in Fame's eternal annals writ:

Where one has fortunately found a place,
More faithful to him than his marble was [h],
Which eating age [i], nor fire shall e'er deface.

A monument that, as it has, shall last
And prove a monument to that defac'd;
Itself, but with the world, not to be raz'd.

And even in their flow'ry characters,
My father's grave, part of your friendship shares;
For you have honour'd his in strewing theirs.

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g The character of Mr. Charles Cotton, the father of Charles Cotton the poet, is most beautifully delineated by the noble historian.

(Life of Edward Earl of Clarendon, fol. 1759, p. 16.)

h His monument in St. Paul's church before the late dreadful fire, 1665.

i Jamque opus exegi, quod, nec Jovis Ira, nec *Ignis*,
Nec poterit Ferrum, nec *edax* abolere *Vetustas*. OVID.

Thus by an office, though particular,
Virtue's whole common-weal obliged are;
For in a virtuous act all good men share.

And by this act, the world is taught to know,
That the true friendship we to merit owe,
Is not discharg'd by compliment and show.

But yours is friendship of so pure a kind,
From all mean ends and interest so refin'd,
It ought to be a pattern to mankind:

For, whereas most men's friendships here beneath,
Do perish with their friends' expiring breath,
Yours proves a friendship living after death;

By which the generous Wotton, reverend Donne,
Soft Herbert, and the church's champion,
Hooker, are rescu'd from oblivion.

For though they each of them his time so spent,
As rais'd unto himself a monument,
With which Ambition might rest well content;

Yet their great works, though they can never die,
And are in truth superlatively high,
Are no just scale to take their virtues by:

Because they show not how th' Almighty's grace,
By various and more admirable ways,
Brought them to be the organs of his praise.

But what their humble modesty would hide,
And was by any other means deny'd,
Is by your love and diligence supply'd.

Wotton,—a nobler soul was never bred!——
You, by your narrative's most even thread,
Through all his labyrinths of life have led;

Through his degrees of honour and of arts,
Brought him secure from Envy's venom'd darts,
Which are still levell'd at the greatest parts;

Through all th' employments of his wit and spirit,
Whose great effects these kingdoms still inherit,
The trials then, now trophies of his merit;

Nay, through disgrace, which oft the worthiest have,
Thro' all state-tempests, thro' each wind and wave,
And laid him in an honourable grave.

And yours, and the whole world's beloved Donne,
When he a long and wild career had run,
To the meridian of his glorious sun;

And being then an object of much ruth,
Led on by vanities, error, and youth,
Was long ere he did find the way to truth:

By the same clew, after his youthful swing,
To serve at his God's altar here you bring,
Where an once wanton muse doth anthems sing.

And though by God's most powerful grace alone
His heart was settled in Religion,
Yet 'tis by you we know how it was done;

And know, that having crucify'd vanities
And fixt his hope, he clos'd up his own eyes,
And then your friend a saint and preacher dies.

The meek and learned Hooker too, almost
I' the Church's ruins over-whelm'd and lost,
Is by your pen recover'd from his dust:

And Herbert;—he, whose education,
Manners, and parts, by high applauses blown,
Was deeply tainted with Ambition,

And fitted for a court, made that his aim;
At last, without regard to birth or name,
For a poor country cure does all disclaim;

Where, with a soul compos'd of harmonies,
Like a sweet swan, he warbles as he dies
His Maker's praise, and his own obsequies.

All this you tell us, with so good success,
That our oblig'd posterity shall profess,
T' have been your friend, was a great happiness.

And now! when many worthier would be proud
T' appear before you, if they were allow'd,
I take up room enough to serve a crowd:

Where to commend what you have choicely writ,
Both my poor testimony and my wit
Are equally invalid and unfit:

Yet this, and much more, is most justly due,
Were what I write as elegant as true,
To the best friend I now or ever knew.

But, my dear friend, 'tis so, that you and I,
By a condition of mortality,
With all this great, and more proud world, must die:

In which estate I ask no more of Fame,
Nor other monument of Honour claim,
Than that of your true friend, t'advance my name.

And if your many merits shall have bred
An abler pen to write your life when dead,
I think an honester cannot be read.

JAN. 17, 1672. CHARLES COTTON [k].

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[k] The author of "Scarronides, or Virgile Travestie," and of other poems. He composed the second part of "The Complete Angler, or the Contemplative Man's Recreation;" being a continuation of Isaac Walton's tract on the same subject. In this work he thus speaks of our Biographer: "I have the happiness "to know his person, and to be intimately acquainted with him, and in him "to know the worthiest man, and to enjoy the best and truest friend any man "ever had: Nay, I shall yet acquaint you further, that he gives me leave to call "him Father, and I hope is not ashamed to own me for his adopted Son."

COPY

OF A LETTER WRIT TO

Mr. IZAAK WALTON,

BY DOCTOR KING, LORD BISHOP OF CHICHESTER [1].

HONEST IZAAK,

THOUGH a familiarity of more than forty years continuance, and the constant experience of your love, even in the worst of the late sad times, be sufficient to endear our friendship; yet, I must

[1] Dr. HENRY KING, Bishop of Chichester, son of Dr. John King, Bishop of London, and great nephew of Robert King the first Bishop of Oxford, and the last Abbot of Osney, was the author of a new metrical translation of the Psalms, of which he has given a modest account in a letter to Archbishop Usher, dated Oct. 30, 1651;—(*Usher's Letters. p. 567.*)—and also of poems, elegies, paradoxes, sonnets, divers Latin and Greek poems, with some sermons and religious tracts. Whilst he was Dean of Rochester, he was suspected of favouring the Puritans: The king, desirous of gratifying that party, made him Bishop of Chichester: But during the time of Cromwell's usurpation, he

confess my affection much improved, not only by evidences of private respect to many that know and love you, but by your new demonstration of a public spirit, testified in a diligent, true, and useful collection of so many material passages as you have now afforded me in the Life of venerable Mr. Hooker; of which, since desired by such a friend as yourself, I shall not deny to give the testimony of what I know concerning him and his learned books; but shall first here take a fair occasion to tell you, that you have been happy in choosing to write the Lives of three such persons, as posterity hath just cause to honour; which they will do the more for the true relation of them by your happy pen: of all which I shall give you my unfeigned censure.

I shall begin with my most dear and incomparable friend Dr. Donne, late Dean of St. Paul's-church, who not only trusted me as his executor, but three days before his death, delivered into my hands those excellent Sermons of his, now made

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he suffered with his brethren, and was compelled to go abroad. He returned at the Restoration, and surviving that event nine years, died Oct. 1, 1669. He was advanced to a bishopric, when Episcopacy was in a sinking state; "It being conceived," says Jacob, "the most effectual method for the restitution of "that order, to prefer persons not only of unblamable lives, and "eminent for their learning, but such as were generally beloved "by all disinterested people. The king's choice amongst these "was very happy in this great divine, who lived a most religious "life, and did not die till after his order was restored."

public; professing before Dr. Winniff[m], Dr. Monford[n], and, I think, yourself then present at his bed-side, that it was by my restless importunity, that he had prepared them for the press; together with which (as his best legacy) he gave me all his

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[m] Dr. THOMAS WINNIFF, successively Dean of Gloucester and of St. Paul's, was promoted to the bishopric of Lincoln in 1641, on the translation of Dr. Williams to York. His mildness, meekness, and humility, were equalled only by his learning, integrity, and eloquence. He experienced vexation and trouble in his promotion, and was under the necessity of retiring to a country parish, Lambourn in Essex, where he died in 1654. A monument was there erected to his memory, on which he is described as one, "Ex eorum numero Episcoporum, quibus "incumbebat nutantis Episcopatûs molem pietatis ac probitatis "suæ Fulcimine sustentare." He has been censured, along with Usher, Prideaux, and others, for the moderation which he always displayed towards the Puritans, and indeed towards all those who were not well affected to the church of England. But surely such a moderation is more commendable than the harshness and acrimony of intemperate zeal. Lord Clarendon naming four other divines, who were appointed bishops at the same time with Dr. Winniff, characterises them as, "of great emi-"nency in the church, frequent preachers, and not a man to "whom the faults of the then governing clergy were imputed, "or against whom the least objection could be made."

[n] Dr. THOMAS MOUNTFORT, a Residentiary of St. Paul's, died Feb. 27, 1632. It appears from Strype's Life of Whitgift, that this person was suspended for having clandestinely married Edward, Earl of Hertford, and Frances Pranel, widow of Henry Pranel, Esq. without bans or license. Upon his submission and earnest desire to be absolved, he obtained absolution from Archbishop Whitgift himself.

sermon-notes, and his other papers, containing an extract of near fifteen hundred authors. How these were got out of my hands, you, who were the messenger for them, and how lost both to me and yourself, is not now seasonable to complain: But, since they did miscarry, I am glad that the general demonstration of his worth was so fairly preserved, and represented to the world by your pen in the history of his life; indeed so well, that beside others, the best critic of our later time (Mr. John Hales [o] of Eton College) affirmed to me, he had not seen a life written with more advantage to the subject, or more reputation to the writer, than that of Dr. Donne's [p].

After the performance of this task for Dr. Donne, you undertook the like office for your

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[o] The ever memorable JOHN HALES, Greek Professor in the University of Oxford, and afterward Fellow of Eton College, from his vast erudition, called "The Walking Library," was esteemed to be one of the greatest scholars in Europe. Having attended the Ambassador of James I. to the Synod of Dort, he composed in a series of letters, a regular and most faithful narrative of the proceedings of that assembly. His adherence to the royal cause, involved him in distress. Obliged to sell his most valuable collection of books at a low price, he died in extreme poverty, May 19, 1656, aged 72 years. It is justly remarked, "it was none of the least injuries of those times, that so eminent "a man as Hales should live and die under such necessities as "he did, by which his life was shortened."

[p] This was spoken of the first edition of Isaac Walton's Life of Dr. Donne, which was printed in 1640; and not, as Wood affirms, in 1653.

friend Sir Henry Wotton; betwixt which two there was a friendship begun in Oxford, continued in their various travels, and more confirmed in the religious friendship of age: and doubtless this excellent person had writ the life of Dr. Donne, if death had not prevented him; by which means his and your pre-collections for that work fell to the happy manage of your pen; a work which you would have declined, if imperious persuasions had not been stronger than your modest resolutions against it. And I am thus far glad, that the first life was so imposed upon you, because it gave an unavoidable cause of writing the second: if not, it is too probable, we had wanted both; which had been a prejudice to all lovers of honour and ingenious learning. And let me not leave my friend Sir Henry, without this testimony added to yours; that he was a man of as florid a wit, and as elegant a pen, as any former (or ours, which in that kind is a most excellent) age hath ever produced.

And now having made this voluntary observation of our two deceased friends, I proceed to satisfy your desire concerning what I know and believe of the ever-memorable Mr. Hooker, who was *Schismaticorum Malleus*, so great a champion for the Church of England's rights, against the factious torrent of Separatists, that then ran high against church-discipline; and in his unanswerable books continues to be so against the unquiet disciples of their schism, which now under other names still

carry on their design[q], and, who (as the proper heirs of their irrational zeal) would again rake into the scarce-closed wounds of a newly-bleeding state and church.

And first, though I dare not say that I knew Mr. Hooker; yet, as our Ecclesiastical History reports to the honour of St. Ignatius[r], "that he lived in the time of St. John, and had seen him in his childhood," so I also joy, that in my minority I have often seen Mr. Hooker with my father, who was after Bishop of London; from whom, and others, at that time, I have heard most of the material passages which you relate in the History of his Life; and from my father received such a character of his learning, humility, and other virtues, that like jewels of invaluable price, they still cast such a lustre, as envy or the rust of time shall never darken.

From my father I have also heard all the circumstances of the plot to defame him; and how

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[q] The Separatists from the Church of England, were originally called by a general term, "Puritans." Split into parties, they were soon discriminated by the various appellations of "Presbyterians," "Independents," "Brownists," "Familists," &c.

[r] IGNATIUS, Bishop of Antioch, is in the list of *the Apostolic Fathers*, among whom were placed such Christian doctors as had conversed with the apostles themselves, or their disciples. This pious and venerable man, who being exposed to wild beasts by the order of Trajan, suffered martyrdom with the utmost constancy, was educated under the apostle and evangelist St. John, and intimately acquainted with St. Peter and St. Paul.

Sir Edwin Sandys out-witted his accusers, and gained their confession: and I could give an account of each particular of that plot, but that I judge it fitter to be forgotten, and rot in the same grave with the malicious authors[s].

I may not omit to declare, that my father's knowledge of Mr. Hooker, was occasioned by the learned Dr. John Spencer; who, after the death of Mr. Hooker, was so careful to preserve his invaluable sixth, seventh, and eighth books of "Ecclesiastical Polity," and his other writings, that he procured Henry Jackson, then of Corpus Christi College, to transcribe for him all Mr. Hooker's remaining written papers; many of which were imperfect: for his study had been rifled, or worse used, by Mr. Chark, and another, of principles too like his. But these papers were endeavoured to be completed by his dear friend Dr. Spencer[t], who bequeathed them as a precious

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[s] The writer of this letter experienced, in his own person, a pleasure equal to any, of which human nature is capable, that of vindicating the injured fame of a beloved parent. When Dr. John King, Bishop of London, a man of solid gravity and piety, and of such an excellent volubility of tongue as well as invention, that James I. denominated him "*the King* of Preachers," was traduced as having abjured that religion, which in the course of a long life he had uniformly defended and adorned, this his son detected the falsehood of the accusation, and in a sermon at St Paul's Cross, clearly exposed the artificers of an infamous, but at that time no unusual calumny.

[t] President of Corpus Christi College in Oxford. After the death of Mr. Hooker he published the five books of the Ecclesiastical

legacy to my father, after whose death they rested in my hand, till Dr. Abbot [u], then Archbishop of Canterbury, commanded them out of my custody, by authorizing Dr. John Barkeham [x] to require, and bring them to him to his palace in Lambeth; at which time, I have heard, they were put into

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astical Polity, with an excellent preface, subscribed I. S. the initial letters of his name. *(See Wood's Ath. Ox. vol. I. p. 393.)*

[u] The character of this prelate, justly to be admired for his truly Christian moderation and mildness, has been most happily pourtrayed by the pen of the Right Hon. Arthur Onslow, for many years the venerable Speaker of the British House of Commons, in "The Life of Dr. George Abbot, &c. reprinted with "some additions, &c. Guildford, 1777."

[x] Chaplain to Archbishop Bancroft, as well as to his successor, Dr. Abbot, and Dean of Bocking in Essex: an able divine, and an amiable man. To his knowledge in divinity he added other literary accomplishments, being an accurate historian, well skilled in coins and antiquities, and so great a proficient in heraldry, that he is generally supposed to have been the author of that celebrated work, which was published in the name of John Guillim. He was also the editor of Crakanthorpe's book against the Archbishop of Spalato, entitled "Defensio Ecclesiæ," &c. Speed, at the conclusion of his History of Great Britain, gratefully acknowledges "The most acceptable helps both of books "and collections (especially in matters remoter from our times) "from that worthy divine, Master John Barkeham, a gentleman "composed of learning, vertue, and courtesie, as being no lesse "ingeniously willing, than learnedly able, to advance and for-"ward all vertuous endeavours." He bequeathed his valuable coins to Archbishop Laud, through whose munificence they were deposited in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

the Bishop's library, and that they remained there till the martyrdom of Archbishop Laud; and were then, by the brethren of that faction, given, with all the library, to Hugh Peters[7], as a reward for his remarkable service in those sad times of the Church's confusion: And though they could

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[7] HUGH PETERS, a man of loose morals, having being expelled in the earlier part of his life from the University of Cambridge, became afterward an itinerant preacher in New England, Holland, and other countries, and was at length appointed one of Oliver Cromwell's Chaplains, and a Colonel in the army. He and Dr. Burgess are classed among those precious-gifted teachers, to whom Butler alludes in the heroical epistle of Hudibras to his Lady, ver. 305, 306. He occasionally preached the lecture at Stepney, and from thence was called by William Greenhill, the noted Independant, "The "Evening Star of Stepney." Many instances are recorded of the violence of his zeal against monarchy. When Oxford was surrendered in 1646, for the use of the Parliament, he was one of the chaplains who, by propagating the most seditious doctrines in the town and in the university, endeavoured to seduce the inhabitants and the young scholars from their allegiance.—In the pulpit he not unfrequently acted the part of a buffoon or merry-andrew. He used to say, that it would never be well till 150—"The three L's, the Lords, the "Levites, and the Lawyers," were put down. He preached divers sermons to persuade the army to destroy the King, whom he compared to Barabbas. It was given in evidence against him, that he was wont to call the King *tyrant* and *fool;* and that, on the Sunday after his Majesty was brought to his trial, in the course of his sermon, he uttered these words,—"Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, "for mine eyes have seen thy salvation."

Such was the man who got possession, not only of the Archbishop's

hardly fall into a fouler hand; yet there wanted not other endeavours to corrupt and make them speak that language for which the faction then fought, which indeed was—*to subject the sovereign power to the people.*

But I need not strive to vindicate Mr. Hooker in this particular; his known loyalty to his prince, whilst he lived, the sorrow expressed by King James at his death, the value our late sovereign (of ever-blessed memory) put upon his works, and now, the singular character of his worth by you, given in the passages of his Life, especially in your Appendix to it, do sufficiently clear him from that imputation. And I am glad you mention how much value Thomas Stapleton, Pope Clement the VIII. and other eminent men of the Romish persuasion, have put upon his books: Having been told the same in my youth by persons of worth that have travelled Italy.

Archbishop's library at Lambeth, but also of the invaluable one which belonged to the King. A commission was granted by Charles II. dated September 10, 1660, to Thomas Ross, tutor to the Duke of Monmouth, and Elias Ashmole, Esquires, empowering them to examine Hugh Peters concerning the books and medals which he was suspected of having embezzled. It was well known that he had ransacked the royal library and closet, and that their most valuable curiosities were taken out, and dispersed over Europe. In his examination *(Biogr. Brit. vol. II. p. 230. K.)* he declared, that he gave up the key and custody of them to Major General Ireton.—Of his behaviour, during his trial and at his execution, see *the State Trials.*

Lastly, I must again congratulate this undertaking of yours, as now more proper to you than any other person, by reason of your long knowledge and alliance to the worthy family of the Cranmers (my old friends also), who have been men of noted wisdom, especially Mr. George Cranmer, whose prudence added to that of Sir Edwin Sandys, proved very useful in the completing of Mr. Hooker's matchless books: one of their letters I herewith send you, to make use of if you think fit. And let me say further: you merit much from many of Mr. Hooker's best friends then living; namely, from the ever-renowned Archbishop Whitgift, of whose incomparable worth, with the character of the times, you have given us a more short and significant account than I have received from any other pen. You have done much for the learned Sir Henry Savile, his contemporary and familiar friend; amongst the surviving monuments of whose learning (give me leave to tell you so) two are omitted; his edition of Euclid[z], but especially his translation of "King James's Apology

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[z] Or rather his works entitled "Prælectiones tredecim in Principium Elementorum Euclidis Oxoniæ habitæ. Oxon. 1621." 4to. Sir Henry Savile having read thirteen lectures upon the first eight propositions of Euclid, surrendered the chair to Mr. Briggs, taking leave of his audience in his last lecture with these words, "Trado lampadem successori meo, doctissimo "viro, qui vos ad intima Geometriæ mysteria perducet."

(Ward's Professors of Gresham College, p. 121.)

for the Oath of Allegiance," into elegant Latin; which flying in that dress as far as Rome, was by the Pope and Conclave sent to Salamanca unto Franciscus Suarez[a] (then residing there as President of that college) with a command to answer it. And it is worth noting, that when he had perfected the work, which he calls "Defensio Fidei Catholicæ," it was transmitted to Rome for a view of the inquisitors; who, according to their custom, blotted out what they pleased, and (as Mr. Hooker hath been used since his death) added whatsoever might advance the Pope's supremacy, or carry on their own interest; commonly coupling together *Deponere et Occidere*,

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[a] A celebrated Jesuit, the author of many controversial and other tracts. He was born in 1548, and died in 1617. His works are contained in 32 vol. folio. The treatise here alluded to, is entitled "Defensio Fidei Catholicæ, contra Anglicanæ Sectæ Errores, unà cum Responsione ad Jac. Regis Apologiam pro Juramento Fidelitatis. Mag. 1619." A copy of this book was burnt in England by public authority. It is related of him, that he met death with the most joyful tranquillity and composure of mind, uttering these words, "Non putabam tam dulce, tam suave esse mori." (*Dictionnaire Historique, &c. à Paris*, 1777.)—Dr. Robert Abbot, Bishop of Salisbury, delivered a course of lectures against Suarez. They were published after his death by his son, with this title, "De Supremâ Potestate Regiâ Exercitationes habitæ in Academiâ Oxoniensi, contra Rob. Bellarmine et Francis. Suarez. Londini, 1619." 4to.—Pope Paul V. dishonoured his title of Holiness, and cast an indelible stain on his infallibility, by an express approbation of the doctrine advanced in the writings of Suarez in defence of the murder of Kings.

the deposing, and then killing of princes. Which cruel and unchristian language, Mr. John Saltkel[b], the amanuensis to Suarez, when he wrote that answer (but since a convert, and living long in my father's house), often professed the good old man (whose piety and charity Mr. Saltkel magnified much) not only disavowed, but detested. Not to trouble you further; your reader (if according to your desire, my approbation of your work carries any weight) will here find many

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[b] Mr. JOHN SALTKEL or SALKIELD, a native of Cumberland, was for some years a member of the Church of Rome and a Jesuit. He was profoundly read in theological and other authors: but being for the fame of his learning brought before King James, he was so far convinced by his Majesty's arguments, as to come over to the Church of England, for which he was wont to style himself "The Royal convert;" and the King honoured him so far, as to call him "The Learned Salkeld" in his works and writings.—(*Echard's History of England, vol. II. p.* 871.)—"Never had England more learned bishops "and doctors: Which of them ever returned from his Majesty's "discourse without admiration? What king christened, hath "written so learned volumes? To omit the rest, his last of "this kind, wherein he hath so held up Cardinal Bellarmine "and his master Pope Paulus, is such, that Plessis and Mouline, "the two great lights of France, profess to receive their light in "this discourse from his beams, and the learned Jesuit, "Salkeild, could not but be converted with the necessity of those "demonstrations." (*Holy Panegyric, Bishop Hall's Works, p.* 1142.)—Mr. Salkeild became Rector of Church Taunton in Devonshire, in 1635, and was afterwards, for his loyalty, deprived of his preferment, and died at Ulculm, in Feb. 1659-60.

just reasons to thank you for it; and possibly for this circumstance here mentioned (not known to many) may happily apprehend one to thank him, who heartily wishes your happiness, and is unfeignedly,

Sir,

Your ever-faithful

And affectionate old friend,

HENRY CHICHESTER.

CHICHESTER,
November 17, 1664.

whom he acquainted with his design, to inquire of some particulars that concerned it, not doubting but my knowledge of the Author, and love to his memory, might make my diligence useful: I did most gladly undertake the employment, and continued it with great content, till I had made my collection ready to be augmented and completed by his matchless pen: but then, death prevented his intentions.

When I heard that sad news, and heard also that these sermons were to be printed, and want the Author's life, which I thought to be very remarkable; indignation or grief (indeed I know not which), transported me so far, that I reviewed my forsaken collections, and resolved the world should see the best plain picture of the Author's life that my artless pencil, guided by the hand of truth, could present to it.

And if I shall now be demanded, as once Pompey's poor bondman was[e];—(the grateful wretch

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"Oblivioso levia Massico
"Ciboria exple." Hor. L. II. Od. VII. ver. 21.

Ουτι τα ἰς Αἰδαν γε τον ἐκλελαθοντα φυλαξας.
Theocr. Ἐδυλλ. α. 63.

[e] Philip, the freed-man of Pompey, watched the dead body of his master, till the multitude had satisfied their curiosity; and then washing it with sea-water, he wrapt it up in a garment of his own, and finding some rotten planks of a little fisherman's boat, he gathered them together for a funeral pile. Lucan has given a long description of Pompey's unhappy destiny. According

had been left alone on the sea-shore, with the forsaken dead body of his once glorious lord and master: and, was then gathering the scattered pieces of an old broken boat to make a funeral pile to burn it, which was the custom of the Romans)—" Who art thou that alone hast the " honour to bury the body of Pompey the great*?" so, who am I that do thus officiously set the Author's memory on fire? I hope the question will prove to have in it more of wonder than disdain. But wonder indeed the reader may, that I, who profess myself artless, should presume with my faint light to show forth his life, whose very name makes it illustrious! but be this to the disadvantage of the person represented: certain I am, it is to the advantage of the beholder; who shall here see the Author's picture in a natural dress which ought to beget faith in what is spoken: for

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cording to his account, the body was thrown into the sea, and Servius Codrus, once his quæstor and his friend, brought it to shore, and paid the last honours to it.

E latebris pavidus decurrit ad æquora Codrus,
Quæstor ab Idalio Cinyrææ litore Cypri
Infaustus Magni fuerat comes: ille per umbras
Ausus ferre gradum, victum pietate timorem
Compulit, ut mediis quæsitum corpus in undis
Duceret ad terram, traheretque ad litora Magnum.
LUCAN. L. VIII. ver. 715.

* Plutarch's Lives.

he that wants skill to deceive, may safely be trusted.

And if the Author's glorious spirit, which now is in heaven, can have the leisure to look down and see me, the poorest, the meanest of all his friends, in the midst of his officious duty, confident I am, that he will not disdain this well-meant sacrifice to his memory: for, whilst his conversation made me and many others happy below, I know his humility and gentleness were then eminent; and I have heard divines say, those virtues that were but sparks upon earth, become great and glorious flames in heaven.

Before I proceed further, I am to entreat the reader to take notice, that when Dr. Donne's Sermons were first printed, this was then my excuse for daring to write his life; and I dare not now appear without it.

THE LIFE OF JOHN DONNE.

MASTER JOHN DONNE was born in London, in the year 1573, of good and virtuous parents: and though his own learning and other multiplied merits may justly appear sufficient to dignify both himself and his posterity, yet the reader may be pleased to know, that his father was masculinely and lineally descended from a very ancient family in Wales, where many of his name now live, that deserve and have great reputation in that country.

By his mother he was descended of the family of the famous and learned Sir Thomas Moor[f], sometime Lord Chancellor of England; as also from that worthy and laborious Judge Rastall[g], who left posterity the vast statutes of the law of this nation most exactly abridged.

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[f] Fuller's Church History, B. x. p. 112.

[g] JOHN RASTALL, a celebrated printer, married Elizabeth the sister of Sir Thomas Moor. William, their son, was brought up to the bar, and was appointed one of the Justices of the King's Bench in 1558. Upon the demise of Queen Mary, he steadily adhered to his religion, left England, and spent the remainder of his days at Louvain. He published the works of his uncle Sir Thomas

He had his first breeding in his father's house, where a private tutor had the care of him, until the tenth year of his age; and in his eleventh year was sent to the University of Oxford; having at that time a good command both of the French and Latin Tongue. This, and some other of his remarkable abilities, made one then give this censure of him; That this age had brought forth another Picus Mirandula[h]; of whom story says, that he was rather born, than made wise by study.

Thomas Moor in one volume. He also formed a collection of and wrote a comment on the statutes, and a very useful book entituled "Les Termes de la Loy," or "An Explication of certain "difficult and obscure Words and Terms of the common Laws "and Statutes of this realm now in use." The author of several tracts against Bishop Jewell was John Rastall, who left the Church of England, in which he had been ordained priest, went to Rome, and with this his kinsman was admitted into the society of Jesus.

[h] Picus Prince of Mirandula, a duchy in Italy, was born in 1463, and having resigned his sovereignty in favour of his nephew, he died in 1494. He is said to have made so wonderful a progress in study, as to understand twenty-two languages at the age of eighteen years, and at the age of twenty-four years to dispute with great success, *de omni scibili.* "Picus Mirandula "32 ætatis anno quo obiit omni disciplinarum genere non modò "tinctus, sed planè imbutus erat, ut Encyclopædiam Scientiarum "jure sibi vindicare potuerit, longiore vitâ planè dignissimus "princeps." *(Scaligeriana.)*——He was honoured with this pompous Epitaph,

"Hic situs est Picus Mirandula: cætera norunt
"Et Tagus et Ganges, forsan et Antipodes."

On

There he remained some years in Hart-Hall[i], having, for the advancement of his studies, tutors of several sciences to attend and instruct him, till time made him capable, and his learning, expressed in public exercises, declared him worthy to receive his first degree in the schools, which he forbore by advice from his friends, who being for their religion of the Romish persuasion, were conscionably averse to some parts of the oath that is always tendered at those times, and not to be refused by those that expect the titulary honour of their studies.

About the fourteenth year of his age, he was transplanted from Oxford to Cambridge[k]; where,

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On which it has been justly remarked, that "his name, then "celebrated in the remotest corners of the earth, is now almost "forgotten, and his works then studied, admired, and applauded, "are now mouldering in obscurity." *(Dr. Johnson's Works, vol. 2. p. 273.)*—The life of this prodigy of learning, written with great elegance of language by John Francis Prince of Mirandula, is inserted in *Bates's Vitæ selectorum, &c. p.* 90.

[i] "He continued for three years at Hart-Hall, which was so "called from Elias de Hertford, who lived in the tenth year of "Edward the First, An. Dom. 1282. In 1312 it changed its "name to Stapledon Hall, but upon the settlement of Exeter "College it returned to its former appellation." *(Le Neve.)*—— In 1740 it was by a royal charter erected into a college by the name of "Hertford College in the University of Oxford," to consist of a Principal, four senior, and eight junior Fellows.

[k] To Trinity College in Cambridge, where he was fellow pupil with Mr. Samuel Brook, who succeeded Dr. Leonard Maw in

that he might receive nourishment from both soils, he stayed till his seventeenth year; all which time he was a most laborious student, often changing his studies, but endeavouring to take no degree, for the reasons formerly mentioned.

About the seventeenth year of his age, he was removed to London, and then admitted into Lincoln's Inn, with an intent to study the law; where he gave great testimonies of his wit, his learning, and of his improvement in that profession: which never served him for other use than an ornament and self-satisfaction.

His father died before his admission into the society; and being a merchant, left him his portion in money. (It was 3000*l.*) His mother and those to whose care he was committed, were watchful to improve his knowledge, and to that end appointed him tutors both in the mathematics, and in all the other liberal sciences, to attend him. But with these arts they were advised to instil into him particular principles of the Romish Church; of which those tutors profest (though secretly) themselves to be members.

They had almost obliged him to their faith; having for their advantage, besides many opportu-

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in the mastership of that college.—" And now, like a laborious " bee, desirous to gather from more flowers than one, he was " translated from Oxford to Cambridge, our other renowned " nursery of learning, where he much improved his studies."

(Winstanley's English Worthies, p. 398.)

nities, the example of his dear and pious parents, which was a most powerful persuasion, and did work much upon him, as he professeth in his preface to his Pseudo-Martyr[1]; a book of which the reader shall have some account in what follows.

He was now entered into the eighteenth year of his age; and at that time had betrothed himself to no religion that might give him any other denomination than a Christian. And reason, and piety had both persuaded him, that there could be no such sin as Schism, if an adherence to some visible church were not necessary.

About the nineteenth year of his age; he being then unresolved what religion to adhere to, and considering how much it concerned his soul to choose the most orthodox, did therefore (though his youth and health promised him a long life), to rectify all scruples that might concern that, presently lay aside all study of the law, and of all other sciences that might give him a denomination;

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[1] "I had a longer work to do than many other men: for I "was first to blot out certaine impressions of the Romane religion "and to wrestle both against the examples and against the reasons, "by which some hold was taken, and some anticipations early "layde upon my conscience, both by persons who by nature had "a power and superiority over my will, and others who by their "learning and good life seemed to me justly to claime an in-"terest for the guiding and rectifying of mine understanding in "these matters." (*Preface to the Pseudo-Martyr;* which is pronounced by Mr. Granger in his Biographical History, vol. I. p. 357, to be the most valuable of Donne's prose writings.)

and begun seriously to survey and consider the body of divinity [m], as it was then controverted betwixt the reformed and the Roman Church. And as God's blessed spirit did then awaken him to the search, and in that industry did never forsake him (they be his own words in his preface to Pseudo-Martyr), so he calls the same holy spirit to witness this protestation; that, in that disquisition and search, he proceeded with humility and diffidence in himself; and, by that which he took to be the safest way; namely, frequent prayers, and an indifferent affection to both parties: and indeed, truth had too much light about her to be hid from so sharp an inquirer; and he had too much ingenuity not to acknowledge he had found her.

Being to undertake this search, he believed the

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[m] The principal heads of this controversy have been discussed with great ability and candour by the most eminent divines of our church, and particularly by those of them, who lived in the reign of James II. Mr. Pope, in a letter to Bishop Atterbury, tells his Lordship, that when he was fourteen years old, he read the controversies between the two churches. He adds, "and the consequence was, I found myself a Papist and a "Protestant by turns, according to the last book I read." This, as the writer of his life observes, is an admirable description of every reader busied in religious controversy, without possessing the principles on which a right judgment of the points in question is to be regulated. If Mr. Pope had pursued this inquiry with the same preparatory knowledge, with the same humble diffidence that attended Dr. Donne, it is reasonable to think that the result of his researches would have been different from what he has represented it.

Cardinal Bellarmine[n] to be the best defender of the Roman cause, and therefore betook himself to the examination of his reasons. The cause was weighty: and wilful delays had been inexcusable both towards God and his own conscience; he therefore proceeded in this search with all moderate haste, and about the twentieth year of his age, did show the then Dean of Gloucester[o] (whose name my memory hath now lost) all the Cardinal's works marked with many weighty observations under his own hand; which works were bequeathed by him at his death as a legacy to a most dear friend.

About a year following he resolved to travel; and the Earl of Essex going first the Cales, and

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[n] ROBERT BELLARMINE, raised to the purple in 1599 by Pope Clement VIII. was born in 1542, and died at Rome in 1621. He was esteemed by the Jesuits as the brightest ornament of their order, and the Protestant writers have always considered him as the most learned advocate of the church of Rome. His great work has been called "Opus absolutissimum, quod controversiarum ferme omnium corpus dici queat." The following eulogium is prefixed to a print of him by Bolswert. "*Robertus* "*Bellarminus* Politianus Societatis *Jesu* animi submissione quàm "purpurâ major: nec pio minùs quàm docto in hæreses con- "troversiarum calamo orbi notissimus: virtutum ut amator ita "cultor omnium. Quam a Matre Virgine carnem acceperat, "quam a sacro lavacro innocentiam Deo reddidit: nullius sibi "vitâ omni mendacii conscius: cujus etiam medicam manum "in vario morborum genere experti non pauci. Vivere hic "desiit, cælo incepit anno MDCXXI. ætatis suæ LXXIX."

[o] Dr. ANTHONY RUDD, born in Yorkshire, and Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. He died Bishop of St. David's in

after the Island voyages, the first anno 1596, the second 1597, he took the advantage of those opportunities, waited upon his Lordship, and was an eye witness of those happy and unhappy employments[p]. But he returned not back into England, till he had staid some years first in Italy, and then in Spain, where he made many useful observations of those countries, their laws and manner of government, and returned perfect in their languages.

The time that he spent in Spain was, at his first going into Italy, designed for travelling to the holy land, and for viewing Jerusalem and the Sepulchre of our Saviour. But at his being in the furthest parts of Italy, the disappointment of company, or of a safe convoy, or the uncertainty of returns of money into those remote parts, denied him that happiness; which he did often occasionally mention with a deploration.

Not long after his return into England, that exemplary pattern of gravity and wisdom, the

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in 1614. Of his sermon preached in 1596 before Queen Elizabeth, from Ps. xc. 12, in which by personally alluding to her advanced years, and plainly telling her Majesty, that "age had furrowed her face, and besprinkled her hair with "its meal," he incurred her heavy displeasure.—*See Fuller's Ch. History, B. X. Cent.* xvii. *p.* 69.

[p] Of this expedition in 1596, in which Cadiz was taken from the Spaniards, a narrative written by the Earl of Essex is inserted in Cambden's Annals of England, &c.

Lord Ellesmere[q], then keeper of the great seal, the Lord Chancellor of England, taking notice of his learning, languages, and other abilities, and much affecting his person and behaviour, took him to be his chief Secretary; supposing and intending it to be an introduction to some more weighty employment in the State; for

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[q] Sir THOMAS EGERTON, Knight, a native of Cheshire, the founder of his branch of the house of Egerton. In consideration of his singular merits, he had the care of the Great Seal committed to him, May 6, 1596, under the title of Lord Keeper, and by King James I. he was created Baron of Ellesmere, and constituted Lord Chancellor of England. His literary character is pourtrayed in the following letter written by Sir Francis Bacon, when he presented him with a copy of "The "Advancement of Learning."

"May it please your good Lordship,

"I humbly present your Lordship with a work, wherein "as you have much commandment over the author, so your "Lordship hath great interest in the argument: for, to speak "without flattery, few have like use of learning or like judg-"ment in learning, as I have observed in your Lordship. "And again, your Lordship hath been a great planter of "learning, not only in those places in the church, which have "been in your own gift, but also in your commendatory vote "no man hath more constantly held "detur digniori;" "and therefore both your Lordship is beholden to learning, "and learning beholden to you; which maketh me presume, "with good assurance, that your Lordship will accept well "of these my labours, the rather because your Lordship in "private speech hath often begun to me in expressing your "admiration of his Majesty's learning, to whom I have dedicated "this work; and whose virtue and perfection in that kind "did chiefly move me to a work of this nature. And so

which, his Lordship did often protest, he thought him very fit.

Nor did his Lordship in this time of Master Donne's attendance upon him, account him to

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" with signification of my most humble duty and affection to
" to your Lordship, I remain, &c."
1605.

(Bacon's Works, vol. III. p. 229. Cabala, p. 64.)

This excellent person died at the age of seventy years, March 15, 1616-17, having on the third of that month resigned the Great Seal, which on the seventh was given to Sir Francis Bacon. " It was said of Bankes the Attorney (General) that " he exceeded Bacon in eloquence, *Chancellor Ellesmere* in " *judgment*, and William Noy in law."

(Lord Strafforde's Letters, vol. I. p. 427.)

" TO THE LORD CHANCELLOR.

" Whilst thy weigh'd judgment, Egerton, I hear,
" And know thee then a judge not of one year,
" Whilst I behold thee live with purest hands,
" That no affection in thy voice commands,
" That still thou'rt present to the better cause,
" And no less wise than skilful in the laws,
" Whilst thou art certain to thy words once gone,
" As is thy conscience, which is always one:
" The virgin long since fled from earth I see
" T'our times return'd hath made her heaven in thee."

(Ben Jonson, Epigram 74th.)

Fuller in his *Worthies of England*, observes, that " Christen- " dom afforded not a person which carried more gravity in his " countenance and behaviour, than Sir Thomas Egerton, " insomuch that many have gone to the Chancery on purpose " only to see his venerable garb (happy they who had no " other business), and were highly pleased at so acceptable " a spectacle."

be so much his servant, as to forget he was his friend; and to testify it, did always use him with much courtesy, appointing him a place at his own table, to which he esteemed his company and discourse to be a great ornament.

He continued that employment for the space of five years, being daily useful, and not mercenary to his friends. During which time he (I dare not say unhappily) fell into such a liking, (as with her approbation) increased into a love with a young gentlewoman that lived in that family, who was niece to the Lady Ellesmere[r], and daughter to Sir George Moor[s], then Chancellor of the Garter and Lieutenant of the Tower.

Sir George had some intimation of it, and knowing prevention to be a great part of wisdom, did therefore remove her with much haste from that to his own house at Lothesley, in the county

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[r] Or rather, Lady EGERTON, sister to Sir George Moor of Loxly-Farm, in the county of Surry, Knight, and widow of Sir John Wooley, of Pirford in Surry, Knight, and mother of that Sir Francis Wooley, who kindly took Dr. Donne and his wife under his protection. She died in January 1599. In 1600, Sir Thomas Egerton married the Countess Dowager of Derby, who continued to be called Lady Derby. In 1603 he was made Baron Ellesmere.

[s] This gentleman was Treasurer or Receiver General of the revenues of Henry Prince of Wales in 1604. In 1610, he was made Chancellor of the Order of the Garter, and in 1615, Lieutenant of the Tower.

(See Wood's A. O. vol. I. p. 492.)

of Surry; but too late, by reason of some faithful promises which were so interchangeably passed, as never to be violated by either party.

These promises were only known to themselves; and the friends of both parties used much diligence, and many arguments to kill or cool their affections to each other: but in vain; for love is a flattering mischief, that hath denied aged and wise men a foresight of those evils that too often prove to be the children of that blind father; a passion that carries us to commit errors with as much ease as whirlwinds remove feathers, and begets in us an unwearied industry to the attainment of what we desire. And such an industry did, notwithstanding much watchfulness against it, bring them secretly together (I forbear to tell the manner how), and at last to a marriage too, without the allowance of those friends, whose approbation always was, and ever will be necessary, to make even a virtuous love become lawful.

And that the knowledge of their marriage might not fall, like an unexpected tempest, on those that were unwilling to have it so; and that pre-apprehensions might make it the less enormous, when it was known, it was purposely whispered into the ears of many that it was so, yet by none that could affirm it. But to put a period to the jealousies of Sir George (doubt often begetting more restless thoughts than the certain knowledge of what we fear) the news was, in favour to Mr. Donne, and with his allowance, made known to Sir George.

by his honourable friend and neighbour, Henry Earl of Northumberland[1]: But it was to Sir George so immeasurably unwelcome, and so transported him, that as though his passion of anger and inconsideration might exceed theirs of love and error, he presently engaged his sister the Lady Ellesmere, to join with him to procure her Lord to discharge Mr. Donne of the place he held under his Lordship.—This request was followed with violence; and though Sir George were remembered, that errors might be over-punished, and desired therefore to forbear till second considerations might clear some scruples, yet he became restless until his suit was granted, and the punishment executed. And though the Lord Chancel-

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[1] Henry Percy, the ninth Earl of Northumberland of that name; "a learned man himself, and the generous favourer of "all good learning," as he is called by Anthony Wood. This nobleman, upon the marriage of his youngest daughter Lady Lucy Percy, a lady of the most distinguished wit and beauty, with the Lord Haye, afterwards created Viscount Doncaster and Earl of Carlisle, discovered the same harshness of disposition, which he probably censured in the father-in-law of Dr. Donne. The treatment which he received from James I. to whom he always showed the most faithful attachment, affords one, among many instances, of the injustice of that monarch, who fined this nobleman 30,000l. and "imprisoned him in the Tower from "1605 to 1619, upon a mere suspicion, without the least proof "of his having had knowledge of the powder-plot, as Cecyll "himself confessed in a letter to Sir Thomas Edmunds, dated "Dec. 2, 1605."

(Birch's View of the Negociations, &c. p. 245.)

lor did not at Mr. Donne's dismission give him such a commendation, as the great Emperor Charles the Fifth did of his Secretary Eraso[u], when he presented him to his son and successor Philip the Second, saying, "That in his Eraso, "he gave to him a greater gift than all his estate, "and all the kingdoms which he then resigned to "him;" yet the Lord Chancellor said, "He parted "with a friend and such a secretary as was fitter "to serve a king than a subject."

Immediately after his dismission from his service, he sent a sad letter to his wife, to acquaint her with it; and after the subscription of his name, writ,

JOHN DONNE, ANNE DONNE, UN-DONE;

and God knows it proved too true: For this bitter physic of Mr. Donne's dismission was not strong enough to purge out all Sir George's choler; for he was not satisfied till Mr. Donne and his sometime compupil in Cambridge that married him,

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[u] On the 16th of January, 1556, his Majesty passed the act "of the Renunciation of the Crown of Spain and all its domi-"nions to his son Philip, in the presence of Francis de Eraso "his Secretary, and all the Spaniards then at Brussels." (*Steven's Translation of the History of Charles V. written in Spanish by D. F. Prudencio de Sandoval, Bishop of Pamplona, &c. p. 453.*) It was probably at this very time that the Emperor recommended this faithful secretary to his son.

namely, Samuel Brook[z] (who was after Doctor in Divinity, and Master of Trinity College), and his

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[z] SAMUEL BROOK, descended from a respectable family at York, was the son of Robert Brook, an eminent merchant, and Lord Mayor of that city in 1582 and in 1595. He was admitted of Trinity College, in Cambridge, in 1596; and on September 26, 1612, being then Chaplain to Prince Henry, he was chosen Divinity Professor in Gresham College, on the recommendation of that Prince, whose unhappy death followed, Nov. 6th ensuing. In 1613 he was elected one of the twelve preachers of the University, and the year following he wrote a Latin pastoral, which was acted with applause before King James in Trinity College Hall, on Friday, March 10. Copies of this performance are yet extant, with this title, "Melanthe, Fabula "pastoralis, acta cùm Jacobus, Magnæ Brit. Franc. et Hiberniæ "Rex, Cantabrigiam suam nuper inviserat, ibidemque musarum "atque animi gratiâ dies quinque commoraretur. Egerunt "Alumni Coll. San. et individuæ Trinitatis Cantabrigiæ. Ex-"cudebat Cantrellus Legge, Mart. 27, 1615." In 1630 he is said to have composed an Armenian Treatise of Predestination, with which he acquainted Bishop Laud, who encouraged him in the work, recommending it to the revisal of Dr. Lindsey and Dr. Beale, two great Armenians, and promising to peruse it himself, as appears by sundry letters. (*Pryne's Canterbury's Doom. p.* 167.) Of this tract Mr. Horsey, in the funeral oration delivered in Trinity College Chapel, thus speaks: "Nec "illum prætereo fœtum nuperrimè formatum "*de magno et* "*secreto Prædestinationis Mysterio Disputationes.*" Quanti nobis "esset a tineis et latebris redimere has pretiosas chartas, ut typis "fideliter excusæ in manus omnium pervenirent!" In 1615 he was created D. D. and in 1618 was promoted to the Rectory of St. Margaret's Lothbury, in London. He resigned his Professorship of Gresham College in 1629, upon his appointment to the Mastership of Trinity College in Cambridge, vacated by the death of Dr. Leonard Maw, Bishop of Bath and Wells. In

brother Mr. Christopher Brook[7], sometime Mr. Donne's Chamber-fellow in Lincoln's-Inn, who gave Mr. Donne his wife, and witnessed the marriage, were all committed to three several prisons.

Mr. Donne was first enlarged, who neither gave rest to his body or brain, nor to any friend in whom he might hope to have an interest, until he had procured an enlargement for his two imprisoned friends.

He was now at liberty, but his days were still

1631 he was made Archdeacon of Wells, and in that year he died; and was buried in Trinity College Chapel, without either monument or epitaph. He is described as a man of wit and learning. And Mr. Horsey commends him for his "concio-"nandi copia." Of his writings there is extant only one discourse, from the title of which we may form an idea of the nature of the questions, which were then usually discussed in the divinity schools. "De Auxilio Divinæ Gratiæ Exercitatio Theologica, nimirum, An possibile sit duos eandem habere gratiæ mensuram, et tamen unus convertatur et credat, alter non: è Johan. xi. 45, 46."

(Ward's Professors of Gresham College.)

[7] A Bencher and Summer Reader at Lincoln's Inn, to the chapel of which he was a benefactor. He is much commended as a poet by Ben Jonson, Drayton, and others of his cotemporaries. He wrote an Elegy, consecrated to the never dying memory of Henry Prince of Wales, London 1613, 4to. He also published Eclogues dedicated to his much loved friend Mr. William Brown of the Inner Temple, London, 1614, 8vo. To this gentleman Dr. Donne hath inscribed two poems, "The "Storme" and "The Calme."

ledge and virtue[b], as the fairer testimonies of his love to mankind; and this was the present condition of this man of so excellent erudition and endowments, whose necessary and daily expenses were hardly reconcileable with his uncertain and narrow estate; which I mention, for that at this time there was a most generous offer made him for the moderating of his worldly cares, the declaration of which shall be the next employment of my pen.

God hath been so good to his church, as to afford it in every age some such men to serve at his altar as have been piously ambitious of doing good to mankind; a disposition that is so like to God himself, that it owes itself only to him, who takes a pleasure to behold it in his creatures. These times (anno 1648), he did bless with many such, some of which still live to be patterns of apostolical charity, and of more than human patience. I have said this, because I have occasion to mention one of them in my following discourse; namely, Dr. Morton, the most laborious and learned Bishop of Durham; one that God hath blessed with perfect intellectuals and a cheerful heart at the age of 94 years (and is yet living); one, that in his days of plenty had so

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[b] According to the Greek Poet,

Σοφία δὲ πλουτου κτημα τιμιωτερον.

[c] "The learned, pious, and painful Bishop of Durham "(MORTON) hath fought in front against Roman superstition "and

large a heart as to use his large revenue to the encouragement of learning and virtue, and is now (be it spoken with sorrow) reduced to a narrow state, which he embraces without repining, and still shows the beauty of his mind by so liberal a hand, as if this were an age in which to-morrow were to care for itself. I have taken a pleasure in giving the reader a short but true character of this good man, my friend, from whom I received this following relation.—He sent to Mr. Donne, and intreated to borrow an hour of his time for a conference the next day. After their meeting, there was not many minutes

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"and idolatry." (*Sir Edward Deering's Speech against the Remonstrants.*)—This *learned and charitable* prelate, as Isaac Walton somewhere calls him, not more distinguished by the splendour of his parentage, than by his habitual temperance and diligence in study, died Sept. 22, 1659, in the 95th year of his age, after having received the most injurious treatment from the Parliament. No apology is necessary for the insertion of the following affecting story concerning him. "Having "suffered imprisonment at different times, and undergone many "hardships, he was expelled from Durham-house. Wandering "from place to place, he at last went to London with about "sixty pounds—(which it seems was then his all); he was "overtaken on the road by Sir Christopher Yelverton, who "being known the Bishop was unknown to him: and in "discourse asking the old gentleman, 'What he was,' the "good Bishop replied, 'I am that old man, the Bishop of "Durham, notwithstanding all your votes:' for Sir Christopher "was not free from the stain of the times. Whereupon Sir "Christopher demanded where he was going: 'To London,' "replied the old gentleman; 'to live a little while and then "die.'

passed before he spake to Mr. Donne to this purpose. "Mr. Donne, the occasion of sending "for you is to propose to you, what I have "often revolved in my own thought since I last "saw you, which nevertheless I will not declare "but upon this condition, that you shall not "return me a present answer, but forbear three "days, and bestow some part of that time in "fasting and prayer[d], and after a serious con-"sideration of what I shall propose, then return "to me with your answer. Deny me not, "Mr. Donne, for it is the effect of a true love, "which I would gladly pay as a debt due for "yours to me."

"die.' On this Sir Christopher entered into further discourse "with him, took him home with him into Northamptonshire, "where he became tutor to that son of his, which was after-"wards the incomparably learned Sir Henry Yelverton, and "prefaced this most excellent Bishop's little piece of Epis-"copacy." *(Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, p. 18.)*—"He "was," says his excellent pupil, "an ancient Bishop, and had "all the qualifications fit for his order, either to adorn or "govern a church; but above all he was eminent for his "invincible patience under so many violent persecutions and "almost necessities, always rejoicing in his losses, and pro-"testing that he thought himself richer with nothing and a "good conscience, than those were who had devoured his "goodly bishopric. He was forty-four years a bishop, a thing "so extraordinary, that but one exceeded him in this island." *(Sir H. Yelverton's Preface to* Επισκοπος Αγγλικος, *or the Episcopacy of the Church of England justified.)*

[d] The condition required by Dr. Morton of Mr. Donne, that he should not give an answer to the Doctor's proposal, until he had

This request being granted, the Doctor expressed himself thus:—" Mr. Donne, I know " your education and abilities; I know your ex- " pectation of a state-employment, and I know " your fitness for it, and I know too the many " delays and contingencies that attend court- " promises; and let me tell you, that my love, " begot by our long friendship and your merits, " hath prompted me to such an inquisition after " your present temporal estate, as makes me no " stranger to your necessities, which I know to " be such as your generous spirit could not bear, " if it were not supported with a pious patience: " you know I have formerly persuaded you to

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had passed three days in fasting and prayer, deserves notice, as marking the high devotional spirit of the times: for it is to be remembered, that this was not the proposition of an enthusiastic puritan, but of a very eminent aud respectable divine of the Church of England. If our ancestors carried matters of this nature too far (which there is no reason to think they did), their successors have run into the contrary extreme. A principle of piety exercised in referring our concerns to the providential direction of the Supreme Being, would be no bar to the wisdom, ability, and success of our lawful undertakings. This sentiment, that prayer and labour should co-operate, is expressed by Donne himself, in one of his poems, though with no elegance of language.

" In none but us are such mixt engines found,
" As hands of double office; for the ground
" We till with them, and them to heaven we raise;
" Who prayerless labours, or without this prays,
" Doth but one half—that's none."

(Biogr. Brit. 2d Edit.)

"wave your court hopes, and enter into holy "orders; which I now again persuade you to "embrace, with this reason added to my former "request: the King hath yesterday[c] made me "Dean of Gloucester, and I am also possessed "of a benefice, the profits of which are equal "to those of my Deanery; I will think my "Deanery enough for my maintenance (who am, "and resolve to die, a single man) and will quit "my benefice and estate you in it (which the "patron is willing I shall do), if God shall in-"cline your heart to embrace this motion. Re-"member, Mr. Donne, no man's education or "parts make him too good for this employment, "*which is to be an Ambassador for the God of "glory; that God, who, by a vile death, opened "the gates of life to mankind.* Make me no pre-"sent answer, but remember your promise, and re-"turn to me the third day with your resolution."

At the hearing of this, Mr. Donne's faint breath and perplexed countenance gave a visible testimony of an inward conflict, but he performed his promise, and departed without returning an answer till the third day, and then his answer was to this effect:

"My most worthy and most dear friend, since "I saw you I have been faithful to my promise, "and have also meditated much of your great

[c] He was presented by the King to the Deanery of Gloucester, June 22, 1607, through the recommendation of Archbishop Bancroft.

" kindness, which hath been such as would exceed
" even my gratitude, but that it cannot do, and
" more I cannot return you; and I do that with
" an heart full of humility and thanks, though
" I may not accept of your offer: But, Sir, my
" refusal is not for that I think myself too good
" for that calling, for which kings, if they think
" so, are not good enough; nor for that my
" education and learning, though not eminent,
" may not, being assisted with God's grace and
" humility, render me in some measure fit for it;
" but I dare make so dear a friend as you are
" my confessor; some irregularities of my life
" have been so visible to some men, that though
" I have, I thank God, made my peace with
" him by penitential resolutions against them,
" and by the assistance of his grace banished
" them my affections; yet this, which God knows
" to be so, is not so visible to man, as to free
" me from their censures, and it may be that
" sacred calling from a dishonour[1]. And besides,
" whereas it is determined by the best of Casuits,
" that *God's glory should be the first end, and a*

[1] There is not the least reason to suppose that Mr. Donne ever disgraced his character by any act of immorality. He probably mixed more in the world than he thought consistent with the profession of a clergyman: he had not given that valediction to the pleasures and amusements of life, which he deemed requisite. When he devoted his time to the study of poetry, he chose subjects for his pen, which at a later period of life appeared to him too trifling and ludicrous.

"*maintenance the second motive to embrace that* "*calling*, and though each man may propose to "himself both together, yet the first may not "be put last without a violation of conscience, "which he that searches the heart will judge. "And truly my present condition is such, that "if I ask my own conscience whether it be re- "conceileable to that rule, it is at this time so per- "plexed about it, that I can neither give myself "nor you an answer. You know, Sir, who says, "*Happy is that man whose conscience doth not* "*accuse him for that thing which he does*[s]. To "these I might add other reasons that dissuade "me; but I crave your favour that I may for- "bear to express them, and thankfully decline "your offer."

This was his present resolution; but the heart of man is not in his own keeping, and he was destined to this sacred service by a higher hand; a hand so powerful, as at last forced him to a compliance: of which I shall give the reader an account before I shall give a rest to my pen.

Mr. Donne and his wife continued with Sir Francis Wolly till his death; a little before which time, Sir Francis was so happy as to make a perfect reconciliation betwixt Sir George and his forsaken son and daughter; Sir George conditioning by bond to pay to Mr. Donne 800*l.*

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[s] "Happy is he that condemneth not himself in that which "he doeth." *Rom.* xiv. 22.

at a certain day, as a portion with his wife, or 20*l.* quarterly for their maintenance, as the interest for it till the said portion was paid.

Most of those years that he lived with Sir Francis, he studied the Civil and Canon Laws; in which he acquired such a perfection, as was judged to hold proportion with many who had made that study the employment of their whole life.

Sir Francis being dead, and that happy family dissolved, Mr. Donne took for himself a house in Micham (near to Croydon in Surry), a place noted for good air, and choice company: there his wife and children remained; and for himself he took lodgings in London, near to White-hall, whither his friends and occasions drew him very often, and where he was as often visited by many of the nobility and others of this nation, who used him in their councils of greatest consideration, and with some rewards for his better subsistence. Nor did our own nobility only value and favour him, but his acquaintance and friendship was sought for by most Ambassadors of foreign nations, and by many other strangers whose learning or business occasioned their stay in this nation.

He was much importuned by many friends to make his constant residence in London, but he still denied it, having settled his dear wife and children at Micham, and near some friends that were bountiful to them and him; for they, God

knows, needed it: and that you may the better now judge of the then present condition of his mind and fortune, I shall present you with an extract collected out of some few of his many letters.

——" And the reason why I did not send an " answer to your last week's letter was, because it " then found me under too great a sadness, and " at present it is thus with me. There is not one " person but myself well of my family; I have " already lost half a child, and with that mischance " of hers, my wife is fallen into such a discom- " posure, as would afflict her too extremely, but " that the sickness of all her other children stupifies " her; of one of which, in good faith, I have not " much hope; and these meet with a fortune so " ill provided for physic, and such relief, that if " God should ease us with burials, I know not " how to perform even that; but I flatter myself " with this hope, that I am dying too, for I " cannot waste faster than by such griefs. As " for——

" From my hospital at Micham,

AUG. 10. " JOHN DONNE."

Thus did he bemoan himself: and thus in other letters.

——" For we hardly discover a sin, when it is " but an omission of some good, and no accusing

"act: with this or the former, I have often sus-
"pected myself to be overtaken; which is, with
"an over-earnest desire of the next life. And
"though I know it is not merely a weariness of
"this; because I had the same desire when I went
"with the tide, and enjoyed fairer hopes than I
"now do; yet I doubt worldly troubles have in-
"creased it. It is now spring, and all the pleasures
"of it displease me; every other tree blossoms,
"and I wither: I grow older and not better;
"my strength diminisheth and my load grows
"heavier, and yet I would fain be or do some-
"thing: but that I cannot tell what, is no wonder
"in this time of my sadness: for to choose is to
"do; but to be no part of any body is as to be
"nothing; and so I am, and shall so judge myself,
"unless I could be so incorporated into a part of
"the world, as by business to contribute some
"sustentation to the whole. This I made account;
"I began early, when I understood the study of
"our laws; but was diverted by leaving that and
"embracing the worst voluptuousness, *an hydrop-*
"*tique immoderate desire of human learning and*
"*languages*[h]: beautiful ornaments indeed to men
"of great fortunes; but mine was grown so low as
"to need an occupation, which I thought I entered
"well into, when I subjected myself to such a
"service as I thought might exercise my poor

[h] Donne, in one of his poems, uses the expression of "The "sacred hunger of Science."

"abilities; and there I stumbled and fell too:
"and now I am become so little, or such a nothing,
"that I am not a subject good enough for one of
"my own letters.—Sir, I fear my present discon-
"tent does not proceed from a good root, that I
"am so well content to be nothing, that is, dead.
"But, Sir, though my fortune hath made me such,
"as that I am rather a sickness or a disease of the
"world, than any part of it, and therefore neither
"love it nor life; yet I would gladly live to be-
"come some such thing as you should not repent
"loving me. Sir, your own soul cannot be more
"zealous for your good than I am; and God, who
"loves that zeal in me, will not suffer you to
"doubt it. You would pity me now, if you saw
"me write, for my pain hath drawn my head so
"much awry, and holds it so, that my eye cannot
"follow my pen. I therefore receive you into my
"prayers with mine own weary soul, and com-
"mend myself to yours. I doubt not but next
"week will bring you good news; for I have
"either mending or dying on my side: but if I
"do continue longer thus, I shall have comfort in
"this, That my blessed Saviour, in exercising his
"justice upon my two worldly parts, my fortune
"and my body, reserves all his mercy for that
"which most needs it, my soul; which is, I doubt,
"too like a porter that is very often near the gate,
"and yet goes not out.—Sir, I profess to you
"truly, that my loathness to give over writing

"now, seems to myself a sign that I shall write "no more——

"Your poor friend, and God's poor patient*,
SEPT. 7. "JOHN DONNE."

By this you have seen a part of the picture of his narrow fortune, and the perplexities of his generous mind; and thus it continued with him for about two years, all which time his family remained constantly at Micham, and to which place he often retired himself, and destined some days to a constant study of some points of controversy betwixt the English and Roman Church, and especially those of supremacy and allegiance.

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* This letter most affectingly exhibits a gloomy picture of family distress: A good man struggling with poverty and sickness, almost sinking under the pressure of accumulated misery, but happily deriving consolation from this reflection, that while his body and his fortune only suffered, the tender mercy of God was reserved for his soul——In another letter he thus describes his sad situation;—"I write from the fire-side in my parlour, "and in the noise of three gamesome children, and by the side "of her, whom because I have transplanted into a wretched "fortune, I must labour to disguise that from her by all such "honest devices, as giving her my company and discourse." The mournful history of this unfortunate marriage affords a most important lesson of instruction to young persons. In an affair of high consequence to their welfare in future life, the utmost caution, the most rigid circumspection are necessary. Connexions, formed without the express consent and approbation of parents and guardians, are so far from being productive of domestic bliss, that they are generally marked with disappointment, misfortune, and penitential sorrow.

And to that place, and such studies, he could willingly have wedded himself during his life; but the earnest persuasion of friends, became at last to be so powerful, as to cause the removal of himself and family to London, where Sir Robert Drewry [k], a gentleman of a very noble estate, and a more liberal mind, assigned him and his wife an useful apartment in his own large house in Drewry-lane, and not only rent-free, but was also a cherisher of his studies, and such a friend as sympathised with him and his in all their joy and sorrows [l].

At this time of Mr. Donne's and his wife's living in Sir Robert's house, the Lord Hay was, by King James, sent upon a glorious embassy to the then French King Henry the Fourth; and Sir Robert put on as sudden a resolution to accom-

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[k] Sir Robert Drury was the patron of Dr. Joseph Hall, Bishop of Norwich, who dedicates to him his First, as he does to Lady Drury "The Second Century of Meditations and Vows, "Divine and Moral."

[l] The death of a young lady, the daughter of Sir Robert Drury, afforded to Dr. Donne a subject for the exercise of his muse, in two poems. "I. An Anatomie of the World, wherein by occa-"sion of the untimely death of Mistress Elizabeth Drury, the "frailty and decay of this whole world is represented. The "First Anniversary.——II. Of the Progresse of the Soule. "Wherein, by occasion of the religious death of Mistress Eliza-"beth Drury, the incommodities of the soule in this life, and "her exaltation in the next, are contemplated. The Second "Anniversary."

pany him to the French court, and to be present at his audience there [m]. And Sir Robert put on as sudden a resolution, to subject Mr. Donne to be his companion in that journey. And this desire was suddenly made known to his wife, who was then with child, and otherwise under so dangerous a habit of body, as to her health, that she professed an unwillingness to allow him any absence from her; saying, "Her divining soul boded her some "ill in his absence," and therefore desired him not to leave her. This made Mr. Donne lay aside all thoughts of the journey, and really to resolve against it. But Sir Robert became restless in his persuasions for it, and Mr. Donne was so generous as to think he had sold his liberty when he received so many charitable kindnesses from him, and told his wife so, who did therefore with an unwilling-willingness [n] give a faint consent to the journey, which was proposed to be but for two months; for about that time they determined their return. Within a few days after this resolve, the Ambassa-

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[m] The Authors of the Biographia Britannica observe, that Mr. Walton is mistaken in his information, when he writes, that Sir Robert Drury accompanied the Lord Hay in his embassy from King James to the French King; for that Lord was not sent Ambassador to France, until July 1616: whereas it is evident from the dates of some of Mr. Donne's letters, that he was at Paris with Sir Robert Drury in 1612.

[n] Ἑκὼν ἀκοντί γε θυμῷ. .....Hom.

ἁ δ' ὁ θελων τε καὶ θελων. .....Eurip. in Hecub.

dor, Sir Robert, and Mr. Donne left London, and were the twelfth day got all safe to Paris. Two days after their arrival there, Mr. Donne was left alone in that room in which Sir Robert, and he, and some other friends had dined together. To this place Sir Robert returned within half an hour; and as he left, so he found Mr. Donne alone, but in such an ecstacy, and so altered as to his looks, as amazed Sir Robert to behold him; insomuch that he earnestly desired Mr. Donne to declare what had befallen him in the short time of his absence. To which Mr. Donne was not able to make a present answer; but after a long and perplexed pause, did at last say, "I have seen a dreadful "vision since I saw you; I have seen my dear "wife pass twice by me through this room, with "her hair hanging about her shoulders, and a dead "child in her arms: this I have seen since I saw "you." To which Sir Robert replied, "Sure, Sir, "you have slept since I saw you, and this is the "result of some melancholy dream, which I desire "you to forget, for you are now awake." To which Mr. Donne's reply was, "I cannot be surer "that I now live, than that I have not slept since "I saw you; and I am as sure, that at her second "appearance she stopped, and looked me in the "face, and vanished."—Rest and sleep had not altered Mr. Donne's opinion the next day; for he then affirmed this vision with a more deliberate, and so confirmed a confidence, that he inclined Sir Robert to a faint belief that the vision was true.—

It is truly said, that desire and doubt have no rest; and it proved so with Sir Robert, for he immediately sent a servant to Drewry House, with a charge to hasten back, and bring him word, whether Mrs. Donne was alive: and if alive, in what condition she was as to her health.—The twelfth day the messenger returned with this account—That he found and left Mrs. Donne very sad, and sick in her bed; and that after a long and dangerous labour, she had been delivered of a dead child. And upon examination, the abortion proved to be the same day, and about the very hour that Mr. Donne affirmed he saw her pass by him in his chamber.

This is a relation that will beget some wonder; and it well may, for most of our world are at present possessed with an opinion that visions and miracles are ceased. And though it is most certain, that two lutes being both strung and tuned to an equal pitch, and then one played upon, the other, that which is not touched, being laid upon a table at a fit distance, will (like an echo to a trumpet) warble a faint audible harmony, in answer to the same tune, yet many will not believe there is any such thing as a sympathy of souls: and I am well pleased, that every reader do enjoy his own opinion; but if the unbelieving will not allow the believing reader of this story a liberty to believe that it may be true, then I wish him to consider, many wise men have believed, that the ghost of Julius Cæsar

did appear to Brutus, and that both St. Austin, and Monica his mother, had visions in order to his conversion. And though these, and many others (too many to name) have but the authority of human story, yet the incredible reader may find in the sacred story (1 *Sam.* xxviii.), that Samuel did appear to Saul even after his death (whether really or not, I undertake not to determine). And Bildad, in the book of *Job* (chap. iv.), says these words; "A spirit passed before my "face, the hair of my head stood up, fear and "trembling came upon me, and made all my "bones to shake." Upon which words I will make no comment, but leave them to be considered by the incredulous reader, to whom I also commend this following consideration:—That there be many pious and learned men that believe our merciful God hath assigned to every man a particular guardian angel[o], to be his constant monitor, and to attend him in all his dangers both of body and soul. And the opinion, that every man hath his particular angel, may gain some authority by the relation of St. Peter's miraculous deliverance out of prison (*Acts* xii.); not by many, but by one Angel. And this belief may yet gain more credit, by the reader's considering, that when Peter, after his enlargement, knocked at the door of Mary the mother

[o] Of the very probable truth of this proposition, so pleasing to all good men, see *Bishop Bull's Sermons, vol. II. p.* 498.

of John, and Rode the maid-servant being surprised with joy that Peter was there, did not let him in, but ran in haste and told the disciples (who were then and there met together) that Peter was at the door, and they not believing it, said she was mad; yet when she again affirmed it, though they believed it not, yet they concluded and said—" It is his angel."

More observations of this nature, and inferences from them, might be made to gain the relation a firmer belief; but I forbear, lest I, that intended to be but a relator, may be thought to be an engaged person for the proving what was related to me; and yet I think myself bound to declare, that though it was not told me by Mr. Donne himself, it was told me (now long since) by a person of honour, and of such intimacy with him, that he knew more of the secrets of his soul, than any person then living; and I think he told me the truth: for it was told with such circumstances and such asseveration, that (to say nothing of my own thoughts) I verily believe he that told it me did himself believe it to be true.

I forbear the reader's farther trouble, as to the relation and what concerns it, and will conclude mine with commending to his view a copy of verses given by Mr. Donne to his wife at the time that he then parted from her: and I beg leave to tell, that I have heard some critics, learned both in languages and poetry, say, that

none of the Greek or Latin poets did ever equal them.

A VALEDICTION,

FORBIDDING TO MOURN.

As virtuous men pass mildly away,
  And whisper to their souls to go,
While some of their sad friends do say,
  The breath goes now; and some say—No:

So let us melt and make no noise;
  No wind-sighs or tear-floods us move:
'Twere profanation of our joys,
  To tell the laity our love.

Movings of the earth cause harms and fears;
  Men reckon what they did or meant:
But trepidation of the spheres,
  Though greater far, is innocent.

Dull sublunary lovers' love
  (Whose soul is sense) cannot admit
Absence; because that doth remove
  Those things that elemented it.

But we by a soul so much refin'd,
  That our souls know not what it is,
Inter-assured of the mind,
  Care not hands, eyes, or lips to miss.

Our two souls therefore, which are one,
  Though I must go, endure not yet
A breach, but an expansion,
  Like gold to airy thinness beat.

If we be two, we are two so
  As stiff twin-compasses are two:
Thy soul, the fix'd foot, makes no show
  To move, but does if th' other do.

And though thine in the centre sit,
  Yet, when my other far does roam,
Thine leans and hearkens after it,
  And grows erect as mine comes home.

Such thou must be to me, who must,
  Like th' other foot, obliquely run:
Thy firmness makes my circle just,
  And me to end where I begun.

I return from my account of the vision, to tell the reader, that both before Mr. Donne's going into France, at his being there, and after his return, many of the nobility and others, that were powerful at court, were watchful and solicitous to the King for some secular employment for him. The King had formerly both known and put a value upon his company; and had also given him some hopes of a state-employment, being always much pleased when Mr. Donne attended him, especially at his meals [p], where there were usually

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[p] James I. took great pleasure in the conversation of those divines who attended his court. It was usual with him, particularly at his meals, to discourse with them, as well upon the controversial points of religion, as upon various topics of literature. In the dedication of "An Answer to a Challenge made by a Jesuite in Ireland, 1624," to the King, the celebrated author, having preferred him to the Emperor Theodosius the Younger,

many deep discourses of general learning, and very often friendly disputes or debates of religion betwixt his majesty and those divines whose places required their attendance on him at those times; particularly the Dean of the Chapel, who then was Bishop Montague [q] (the publisher of the

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Younger, and to Alexius, thus addresses his Majesty. "It is "acknowledged, even by such as differ from you in the point of "religion, as a matter that hath added more than ordinary "lustre to your royal estate, that *you doe not forbear so much as* "*at the time of your bodily repast to have, for the then like feeding* "*of your intellectual part, your Highnesse's table surrounded with* "*the attendance and conference of your grave and learned divines.* "What inward joy my heart conceived as oft as I have had the "happiness to be present at such seasons, I forbeare to utter, "onely I will say with Job, *the eare which heard you blessed you,* "*and the eye which saw you gave witnesse to you.*" Dr. Joseph Hall in his Holy Panegyric hath drawn a parallel between the Roman Emperor Constantine and King James. "Constantine "sate in the midst of bishops, as if he was one of them. King "James, besides his solemn conferences, vouchsafes not seldom "to spend his meals in discourse with his bishops and other "worthy divines." *See Bishop Hall's Works, p.* 444.

[q] The fifth son to Sir Edward Montague, and brother to Edward the first Lord Montague of Broughton, eminent for his learning and liberality, and usually called "King James's ecclesiastical Favourite." He published his Majesty's works under this title: "King James's Works, published by James, Bishop of Winton, and Deane of his Majesty's Chappel Royal. 1 Reg. III. 12 v. *Lo I have given thee a wise and an understanding heart.* London 1616." He afterward translated them into Latin. He died in 1618, having been bishop of Winchester only two years. He was buried in the Abbey church of Bath, which, while

learned and eloquent works[r] of his Majesty), and the most reverend Dr. Andrews, the late learned

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while he filled the see of Bath and Wells, he repaired and beautified at a great expense, having been excited to this act of munificence in the following manner: When he held his primary visitation in the church of Bath, the business being done and the benediction given, Sir John Harrington stood up in the midst of the congregation and addressed his lordship in a Latin poem on the ruinous state of the buildings of the church, and concluded with a prophecy of its future flourishing and beautiful condition under the auspices of the Bishop.

> Te nempe ad decus hoc peperit Natura; replevit
> Dotibus eximiis Deus: Ars perfecta polivit:
> In gremio refovet ter magni gratia regis
> Ditavitque bonis tanta ad molimina natis.
> Huc tua te virtus, sorte ancillante, propellit,
> Euge; opus hoc miræ pietatis perfice.

The Bishop, so far from being displeased at this bold and unusual address, answered it in a short Latin speech, and promised to restore the cathedral.

[r] How far the works of this Royal Author deserve the epithets here bestowed upon them, I venture not to decide. "The Demonologie" and "The Counterblast to Tobacco" do not excite very flattering sentiments of his literary acquirements. Quotations, puns, scripture, witticisms, superstition, oaths, vanity, prerogative, and pedantry, are affirmed by the writer of the Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors to be the ingredients of all his Sacred Majesty's performances. (*Vol. I. p.* 41.)—— Yet the incense of praise and adulation was liberally offered to him, both in his life-time and after his death. Ben Jonson, in an epigram, commends James as "best of kings and best of poets." One of the most learned divines of his time declare-

ishop of Winchester[s], who was then the King's Almoner.

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the King's Paraphrase upon the Revelation of St. John, which he is said to have written before he was twenty years of age, to be a memorable monument left to all posterity, *which I can never look upon, but those verses of the poet runne alwaies in my minde.*

Cæsaribus virtus contigit ante diem:
Ingenium cœleste suis velocius annis
Surgit, et ignavæ fert mala damna moræ.

[s] Of this great divine Casaubon thus speaks, "De cujus altâ "doctrinâ in omni genere disciplinarum quicquid dixero minus "erit." In him were eminently united those qualities, which seldom meet in one man, "Scientia magna, memoria major, "judicium maximum, at industria infinita." He is said to have possessed a critical and accurate knowledge of at least fifteen modern tongues. Hence, no one was better qualified to be one of the translators of the Bible in the reign of King James. Lord Clarendon entertained so favourable an opinion of him, as to declare, That "if Andrews, who loved and understood "the church, had succeeded Bancroft in the see of Canterbury, "that infection would easily have been kept out, which could "not afterwards be so easily expelled." *(History of the Rebellion, B. I. p. 88. Edit. 1721.)* Amongst Milton's juvenile poems is an elegy on the death of Bishop Andrews. To his patronage the venerable Joseph Mede owed his success in being elected into a fellowship of Christ's College, Cambridge. And it should be always mentioned to his honour, that it was usual with him to send for men of note, that he thought wanted preferment, and to give them prebends and benefices under seal before they knew of it. Of this we have a remarkable instance in the case of Mr. Bois, on whom he conferred a prebend of Ely unasked for. He was sent for to London by the Bishop. When

About this time there grew many disputes that concerned the Oath of Supremacy and Allegiance [t],

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When he had given him, as we commonly say, joy of it (which was his first salutation at his coming to him), he told him, "that he did bestow it freely on him, without any one moving "him thereto; though (said he) some pick-thanks will be say-"ing, they stood your friends herein." Which prediction proved very true. (*Peck's Desiderata curiosa, B. VIII. p.* 50.)—— Fuller observes of him, that "the Fathers are not more faithfully "cited in his book, than lively copied out in his countenance "and carriage; his gravity in a manner awing King James, who "refrained from that mirth and liberty in the presence of this "prelate, which otherwise he assumed to himself." Of his writings perhaps the most known and the most useful is the Manual of Devotions, composed in Greek and Latin for his own private use, and rendered into English by Dean Stanhope. For some time before his death the manuscript was scarce ever out of his hands. It was found worn in pieces by his fingers, and wet with his tears. A late editor of these devotions thus concludes his advertisement to the reader. "When thou hast bought this "book, enter into thy closet and shut the door; pray with "Bishop Andrews for one week, and he will be thy companion "for the residue of thy years; he will be pleasant in thy life, "and at the hour of death he will not forsake thee."——"Who," saith Bishop Gauden, "hath more amplenesa and completeness "for a good Man, a good Bishop, a good Christian, a good "Scholar, a good Preacher, and a good Counsellor, than Bishop "Andrews, a man of an astonishing excellency both at home and "abroad?"—*See Lloyd's State Worthies, p.* 1016.

[t] "Then I say did his Majesty show this Christian courage of "his more manifestly, when he sent the profession of his "religion, 'The Apology of the Oath of Allegiance,' and his "opinion of the Roman Antichrist, in all languages to all Princes "of Christendom. By occasion of which book, though there

in which the King had appeared and engaged himself by his public writings now extant. And his Majesty discoursing with Mr. Donne, concerning many of the reasons which are usually urged against the taking of those oaths, apprehended such a validity and clearness in his stating the questions, and his answers to them, that his Majesty commanded him to bestow some time in drawing the arguments into a method, and then to write his answers to them; and having done that, not to send but be his own messenger and bring them to him. To this he presently and diligently applied himself, and within six weeks brought them to him, under his own hand-writing, as they be now printed; the book bearing the name of "Pseudo-Martyr*," printed anno 1610.

"have risen twenty Rabshakes, who have railed against our "God, in railing against our religion; and twenty Shemeis, who "who have railed against the person of his Sacred Majesty—(for "I may pronounce that the number of them who have barked "and snarled at that book in writing is scarce less than forty);— "yet scarce one of them all hath undertaken the arguments of "that book, but either repeated, and perchance enlarged those "things, which their own authors had shovelled together of that "subject (that is, the Pope's temporal power); or else they have "bent themselves maliciously, insolently, sacrilegiously against "the person of his Majesty; and the Pope may be Antichrist "still, for any thing they have said to the contrary."

(Dr. Donne's Sermon at Paul's Cross, March 24, 1616.)

* "Wherein this conclusion is evicted, that those who are of "the Roman religion in this kingdom, may or ought to take the "oath

When the King had read and considered that book, he persuaded Mr. Donne to enter into the ministry; to which at that time he was, and appeared, very unwilling, apprehending it (such was his mistaken modesty) to be too weighty for his abilities: and though his Majesty had promised him a favour, and many persons of worth mediated with his Majesty for some secular employment for him (to which his education had adapted him), and particularly the Earl of Somerset, when in his greatest height of favour; who being then at Theobald's [x] with the King, where one of the clerks of the council died that night; the Earl posted a messenger for Mr. Donne to come to him immediately, and, at Mr. Donne's coming, said, "Mr. Donne, to testify the reality of my affection, "and my purpose to prefer you, stay in this gar-"den till I go up to the King and bring you word

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"oath of allegiance, 1610." In this year Dr. Donne was incorporated M. A. in the University of Oxford, having already been admitted to that degree at Cambridge.

[x] The house at Theobald's, near Waltham in Essex, was built by the Lord High Treasurer Burghley, in the reign of Elizabeth. "A place, than which, as to the fabric, nothing can be more "neat, and as to the gardens, walks, and wildernesses about it, "nothing can be more pleasant." James I. was so much delighted with its situation, that he gave the manor of *Hatfield Regis* in exchange for it to Lord Cecil, afterward created Earl of Salisbury. He died at this his favourite palace, March 27, 1627. This noble and beautiful edifice was plundered and destroyed by the Rebels in 1651.

at you are clerk of the council: doubt not my oing this, for I know the King loves you, and know the King will not deny me."—But the ng gave a positive denial to all requests; and, ing a discerning spirit, replied, "I know Mr. Donne is a learned man, has the abilities of a "learned divine, and will prove a powerful "preacher, and my desire is to prefer him that "way, and in that way I will deny you nothing "for him." After that time, as he professeth in his Book of Devotions, "The King descended to "a persuasion, almost to a solicitation, of him to "enter into sacred orders[1]; which though he then denied not, yet he deferred it for almost three years[2]. All which time he applied himself to an

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[1] Walton probably alludes to the following passage in the dedication of Donne's Book of Devotions. "To the most excel-"lent Prince, Prince Charles. Most excellent Prince, I have "had three births; one natural, when I came into the world; "one supernatural, when I entered into the ministry; and now "a preternatural birth in returning to life from this sickness: "in my second birth your Highnesse's royal father vouchsafed "mee his hand, not onely to sustaine me in it, but to lead "me to it."

[2] Mr. Granger quotes a passage from Dr. Barwick's Life of Bishop Morton, relating to Donne, that he (Barwick) saw a portrait of Donne at Lincoln's Inn, all enveloped with a darkish shadow, his face and features hardly discernible, with this ejaculation and wish written thereon: "Domine, illumina tenebras "meas;" and that this wish was afterward accomplished, when at the persuasion of King James he entered into holy orders.

(Biogr. Hist. vol. II.)

incessant study of textual divinity, and to the attainment of a greater perfection in the learned languages, Greek and Hebrew.

In the first and most blessed times of Christianity, when the clergy were looked upon with reverence, and deserved it, when they overcame their opposers by high examples of virtue, by a blessed patience and long-suffering; those only were then judged worthy the ministry, whose quiet and meek spirits did make them look upon that sacred calling with an humble adoration and fear to undertake it; which indeed requires such great degrees of *humility*, and *labour*, and *care*, that none but such were then thought worthy of that celestial dignity; and such only were then sought out, and solicited to undertake it. This I have mentioned, because forwardness and inconsideration could not in Mr. Donne, as in many others, be an argument of insufficiency or unfitness; for he had considered long, and had many strifes within himself, concerning the strictness of life and competency of learning required in such as enter into sacred orders; and doubtless, considering his own demerits, did humbly ask God with St. Paul, "Lord, who is sufficient for these things?" and with meek Moses, "Lord, who am I?" And sure, if he had consulted with flesh and blood, he had not for these reasons put his hand to that holy plough. But God, who is able to prevail, wrestled with him as the Angel did with Jacob,

and marked him; marked him for his own[a]: marked him with a blessing, a blessing of obedience to the motions of his blessed spirit. And then, as he had formerly asked God with Moses, "Who am I?" so now, being inspired with an apprehension of God's particular mercy to him in the King's and others' solicitations of him, he came to ask King David's thankful question, "Lord, "who am I, that thou art so mindful of me?" So mindful of me, as to lead me for more than forty years through this wilderness of the many temptations and various turnings of a dangerous life; so merciful to me, as to move the learnedest of kings to descend to move me to serve at the altar; so merciful to me, as at last to move my heart to embrace this holy motion:—Thy motions I will and do embrace:—And now I say with the blessed Virgin, "Be it with thy servant as seemeth best "in thy sight;" and so, blessed Jesus, I do take the cup of salvation, and will call upon thy name, and will preach thy gospel[b].

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[a] Is this the origin of Gray's beautiful expression in his "Elegy in a Country Church-yard?"

"And melancholy mark'd him for her own."

[b] These just and exquisitely beautiful reflections affix infinite credit equally to Dr. Donne and to his Biographer. Is it not devoutly to be wished that they were deeply imprinted on the minds of every candidate for holy orders?

Such strifes as these St. Austin[c] had, when St. Ambrose[d] endeavoured his conversion to Christianity, with which he confessed he acquainted his friend Alipius. Our learned author (a man fit to write after no mean copy) did the like. And declaring his intentions to his dear friend Dr. King, then Bishop of London, a man famous in his generation, and no stranger to Mr. Donne's abilities,—(for he had been chaplain to the Lord Chancellor, at the time of Mr. Donne's being his Lordship's secretary);—that reverend man did re-

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[c] AUGUSTIN, the famous Bishop of Hippo, and usually called "the great Doctor of Africa," was born in 359, and died in 430. The carelessness and levity of the earlier period of his life were in some measure compensated by the unbounded charity, the piety and zeal which he displayed after his conversion to the true faith. This conversion is attributed partly to the affecting discourses of St. Ambrose, whose lectures he was induced to attend through mere curiosity, and partly to the tears and tender entreaties of his mother Monica. He hath so freely acknowledged and censured the impropriety of his former conduct, in his books of Confessions, that it is justly deemed "tyranny to trample on him that prostrates himself." Erasmus, who hath written his life, exhibits him as the most finished pattern of goodness—"quasi Deus voluerit in Augustino tan-"quam in una tabula vividum quoddam exemplar Episcopi "repræsentare omnibus virtutum numeris absolutum."

[d] Bishop of Milan, from the persuasive powers of his eloquence, and the charming sweetness of his language, called "the Mellifluous Doctor." The effects which his discourses produced on St. Augustin are described in *Confessionum, lib. v. cap.* 14.

ceive the news with much gladness; and, after some expressions of joy, and a persuasion to be constant in his pious purpose, he proceeded with all convenient speed, to ordain him first deacon, and then priest not long after[c].

Now the English Church had gained a second St. Austin, for I think none was so like him before his conversion; none so like St. Ambrose after it: And if his youth had the infirmities of the one, his age had the excellencies of the other; the learning and holiness of both.

And now all his studies, which had been occasionally diffused, were all concentred in divinity. Now he had a new calling, new thoughts, and a new employment for his wit and eloquence. Now all his earthly affections were changed into divine love; and all the faculties of his own soul were engaged in the conversion of others;—in preaching the glad tidings of remission to repenting sinners, and peace to each troubled soul. To these he applied himself with all care and diligence: And now such a change was wrought in him that he could say with David, "O how "amiable are thy tabernacles, O Lord God of "Hosts!" Now he declared openly, "That when "he required a temporal, God gave him a spiritual "blessing." And that "He was now gladder to

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[c] He had bid farewel to poetry the year before; his last poem being written upon the death of Lord Harrington, a nobleman of extraordinary piety and learning.

"be a door-keeper in the house of God, than he "could be to enjoy the noblest of all temporal "employments."

Presently after he entered into his holy profession, the King sent for him, and made him his Chaplain in Ordinary, and promised to take a particular care for his preferment.

And though his long familiarity with scholars and persons of greatest quality was such as might have given some men boldness enough to have preached to any eminent auditory; yet his modesty in this employment was such that he could not be persuaded to it, but went usually accompanied with some one friend, to preach privately in some village not far from London; his first sermon being preached at Paddington: This he did till his Majesty sent and appointed him a day to preach to him at Whitehall; and though much was expected from him, both by his Majesty and others, yet he was so happy (which few are) as to satisfy and exceed their expectations; preaching the word so as showed his own heart was possessed with those very thoughts and joys that he laboured to distil into others: A preacher in earnest, weeping sometimes for his auditory, sometimes with them; always preaching to himself like an angel from a cloud, but in none; carrying some, as St. Paul was, to heaven in holy raptures, and enticing others by a sacred art and courtship to amend their lives: Here picturing a vice so as to make it ugly to those that practised it, and a virtue so

as to make it be beloved even by those that loved it not, and all this with a most particular grace and an inexpressible addition of comeliness.

There may be some that may incline to think (such indeed as have not heard him), that my affection to my friend hath transported me to an immoderate commendation of his preaching: If this meets with any such, let me intreat, though I will omit many, yet that they will receive a double witness for what I say, it being attested by a gentleman of worth (Mr. Chidley[f], a frequent hearer of his sermons), in part of a funeral elegy wrote by him on Dr. Donne; and is a known truth though it be in verse.

.....Each altar had his fire.....
He kept his love but not his object. Wit
He did not banish, but transplanted it;
Taught it both time and place, and brought it home
To PIETY, which it doth best become.
For say, had ever pleasure such a dress?
Have you seen crimes so shap'd, or loveliness
Such as his lips did clothe religion in?
Had not reproof a beauty passing sin?
Corrupted Nature sorrow'd that she stood
So near the danger of becoming good.
And when he preach'd she wish'd her ears exempt
From PIETY that had such power to tempt.
How did his sacred flattery beguile
Men to amend?.....

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[f] Rather Mr. Chudleigh:—JOHN CHUDLEIGH, M. A. of Wadham College in Oxford, and the eldest son of Sir George Chudleigh, Bart. of Alston in Devonshire.

More of this, and more witnesses might be brought, but I forbear and return[s].

That summer, in the very same month in which he entered into sacred orders and was

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[s] The character of Dr. Donne's Sermons is faithfully delineated by his son in the Dedication of them to Charles I. "They "who have been conversant in the works of the holiest men "of all times, cannot but acknowledge in these the same "spirit with which they writ; reasonable demonstrations every "where in the subjects comprehensible by reason: As for "those things which cannot be comprehended by our reason "alone, they are no where made easier to faith than here; and "for the other part of our nature, which consists in our passions "and in our affections, they are here raised and laid, and "governed and disposed, in a manner, according to the will "of the author. The doctrine itself which is taught here is "primitively Christian; the Fathers are every where consulted "with reverence, but apostolical writings only appealed to as "the last Rule of Faith. Lastly, such is the conjuncture "here of zeal and discretion, that whilst it is the main scope "of the author in these Discourses, that glory be given to "God, this is accompanied every where with a scrupulous "care and endeavour, that peace be likewise settled amongst "men."

The two following extracts will enable the reader to form a judgment of Dr. Donne's style and mode of writing:

——"It is not enough not to trust in flesh, but thou must "trust in that that is spirit. And when thou art to direct "thy trust upon him who is spirit, the spirit of power and "of consolation, stop not, stray not, divert not upon evill "spirits to seeke advancement or to seeke knowledge from "them, nor upon good spirits, the glorious saints of God in "heaven, to seeke salvation from them, nor upon thine own "spirit, in an over-valuation of thy purity or thy merits. For "there is a pestilent pride in an imaginary humility, and an

"inflectious

made the King's Chaplain, his Majesty then going his progress, was entreated to receive an

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" infectious foulenesse in an imaginary purity; but turne onely " to the onely invisible and immortall God, who turnes to thee " in so many names and notions of power and consolation " in this one psalme, *(Ps. lxii.)* In last verse but one of " this psalme David sayes, *God hath spoken once, and twice have* " *I heard him.* God hath said enough, but twice in this psalme " hath he repeated this, in the second and in the sixth verse, " *He onely is my rocke, and my salvation, and my defence.* And, " as it is inlarged in the seventh verse, *my refuge and my glory.* " If my *refuge*,—what enemy can pursue me? If my *defence*,— " what tentation shall wound me? If my *rocke*,—what storme " shall shake me? If my *salvation*,—what melancholy shall deject " me? If my *glory*,—what calumny shall defame me?

" I must not stay you now, to infuse into you the severall " consolations of these severall names and notions of God " towards you. But goe your several wayes home, and every " soule take with him that name, which may minister most " comfort unto him. Let him that is pursued with an any " particular tentation, invest God, as God is a *refuge*, a " sanctuary. Let him that is buffeted with the messenger " of Satan, battered with his own concupiscence, receive God, " as God is his *defence* and target. Let him that is shaked " with perplexities in his understanding, or scruples in his " conscience, lay hold upon God, as God is his *rocke* and his " anchor. Let him that hath any diffident jealousie or suspition " of the free and full mercy of God, apprehend God, as God " is his *salvation*. And him that walks in the inglorious nesse " and contempt of this world, contemplate God, as God is his " *glory*. Any of these notions is enough to any man, but " God is all these and all else that all soules can thinke, to " every man. Wee shut up both these considerations (man " should not (that is not all), God should be relied upon) with " that of the Prophet, *Trust ye not in a friend, put not your* " *confidence in a guide, keepe the doores of thy mouth from her*

" *that*

entertainment in the University of Cambridge; and Mr. Donne attending his Majesty at that

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" *that lies in thy bosome* (there is the exclusion of trust in man): " And then he adds in the seventh verse, because it stands " thus between man and man, *I will looke unto the Lord, I will* " *looke unto the God of my salvation, my God will heare me.*" (*LXXX. Sermons*, 1640, *p.* 662.)——" Now to make up a " circle, by returning to our first word, remember: As we " remember God, so for his sake let us remember one another. " In my long absence and far distance from hence remember " me, as I shall do you in the ears of that God to whom the " farthest east and the farthest west are but as the right and " the left ear in one of us; we hear with both at once, and " he hears in both at once; remember me, not my abilities, " for when I consider my Apostleship that I was sent to you, " I am in St. Paul's *quorum, quorum ego sum minimus*, the least " of them that have been sent; and when I consider my in- " firmities, I am in his *quorum* in another commission, another " way, *quorum ego maximus*, the greatest of them; but re- " member my labours and endeavours, at least my desire to " make sure your salvation. And I shall remember your re- " ligious cheerfulness in hearing the word, and your christianly " respect towards all them that bring that word unto you, " and towards myself in particular far above my merit. And " so as your eyes that stay here and mine that must be far off, " for all that distance shall meet every morning in looking " upon that same sun, and meet every night in looking upon " the same moon; so our hearts may meet morning and " and evening in that God which sees and hears every where; " that you may come thither to him with your prayers, that " I (if I may be of use for his glory and your edification in " this place) may be restored to you again; and may come " to him with my prayer, that what Paul soever plant amongst " you, or what Apollos soever water, God himself will give " the increase: That if I never meet you again till we have

" all

time, his Majesty was pleased to recommend him to the University to be made Doctor in Divinity:

"all passed the gate of death, yet in the gates of heaven I "may meet you all, and there say to my Saviour and your "Saviour, that which he said to his father, "*Of those whom "thou hast given me have I not lost one.*" Remember me thus, "you that stay in this kingdome of peace, where no sword is "drawn but the sword of justice, as I shall remember you "in those kingdomes, where ambition on one side and a "necessary defence from unjust persecution on the other "side hath drawn many swords; and Christ Jesus remember "us all in his kingdome; to which though we must sail "through a sea, it is the sea of his blood, where no soul "suffers shipwreck; though we must be blown with strange "winds, with sighs and groans for our sins, yet it is the "spirit of God that blows all this wind, and shall blow "away all contrary winds of diffidence or distrust in God's "mercy; where we shall be all souldiers of one army, the "Lord of Hostes, and children of one quire, the God of har-"mony and consent: where all clients shall retain but one "counsellor, our advocate Christ Jesus, nor present him any "other fee but his own blood, and yet every client have a "judgment on his side, not only in a not guilty, in the re-"mission of his sins, but in a *venite benedicti*, in being called to "the participation of an immortal crown of glory: where "there will be no difference in affection nor in mind, but we "shall agree as fully and perfectly in our *allelujah* and *gloria "in excelsis* as God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, agreed "in the *faciamus hominem* at first; where we shall end and "yet begin but then; where we shall have continuall rest, "and yet never grow lazie; where we shall be stronger to "resist and yet have no enemy; where we shall live and "never die, where we shall meet and never part."

(*A Sermon of Valediction at his going into Germany, at Lincoln's Inn, April* 18, 1619. *Donne's Sermons, vol. III. p.* 280, 281.

Dr. Harsnett[h] (after Archbishop of York) was then Vice-Chancellor, who, knowing him to be the author of that learned book the "Pseudo-Martyr," required no other proof of his abilities, but proposed it to the University, who presently assented, and expressed a gladness that they had such an occasion to entitle him to be theirs[i].

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[h] Dr. SAMUEL HARSNETT, Master of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, was Vice-chancellor of that University in 1605 and in 1614, successively Bishop of Chichester and Norwich, and Archbishop of York. He died March 12, 1630. Strictness to historic truth precludes us from passing over in silence an unfortunate circumstance of his life, viz. his expulsion from the Mastership of Pembroke-Hall, for several practises exhibited against him in fifty-seven Articles; all of which are said to have been so flagrant, that he chose rather to resign his Mastership than to undergo an inquiry. But as the purport of these Articles is unknown, and the nature of the charge brought against him has never been ascertained, we remain in doubt what degree of censure he deserved. The inscription on his tomb was evidently penned by himself. "Hic jacet "Samuel Harsnett, quondam Vicarius hujus Ecclesiæ, primò "indignus Episcopus Cicestriensis, dein indignior Norviciensis, "demum indignissimus Archiepiscopus."

[i] A different account of this matter is given in two letters of Mr. Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carlton. In one dated March 16, 1614, he writes, "I had almost forgotten that "almost all the Courtiers went forth Masters of Arts, at the "King's being there; but few or no Doctors, save only *Younge;* "which was done by a mandate, being son to Sir *Peter*, the "King's schoolmaster. The Vice-Chancellor and University "were exceeding strict in that point, and refused many in-"portunities of great men; among whom was Mr. Secretary,

 "that

His abilities and industry in his profession were so eminent, and he so known and so beloved by persons of quality, that within the first year of his entering into sacred orders he had fourteen advowsons of several benefices presented to him; but they were in the country, and he could not leave his beloved London[k], to which place he had a natural inclination, having received both his birth and education in it, and there contracted a friendship with many, whose conversation multiplied

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"that made great means for Mr. Westfield; but it would not be: "neither the King's intreaty for *John Dun* would prevail; "yet they are threatened with a mandate, which, if it is "come, it is like they will obey; but they are resolved to "give him such a blow withal, that he were better be with-"out it."

And in another letter of nearly the same date: "*John Donne* "and one *Cheke* went out Doctors at Cambridge with much "ado, after our coming away, by the King's express mandate; "though the Vice-Chancellor and some of the Heads called "them openly 'Filios noctis et tenebriones,' that sought thus "to come in at the window, when there was a fair gate open. "But the worst is, that *Donne* had gotten a reversion of the "Deanery of Canterbury, if such grants could be lawful; whereby "he hath purchased himself a great deal of envy, that a man of "his sort should seek, *per saltum*, to intercept such a place from "so many more worthy and antient Divines."

[k] When it is recollected how much Dr. Donne was attached to London, we are surprised to find that in one of his letters he speaks of *plaguy* London. Let it be remarked, that this word had not at that time a burlesque sense. Donne, in one of his elegies, has "Death's *plaguy* jaws;" i. e. affected with the plague.

the joys of his life: But an employment that might affix him to that place would be welcome, for he needed it.

Immediately after his return from Cambridge his wife died[l], leaving him a man of a narrow unsettled estate, and (having buried five) the careful father of seven children then living, to whom he gave a voluntary assurance never to bring them under the subjection of a step-mother; which promise he kept most faithfully, burying with his tears all his earthly joys in his most dear and deserving wife's grave[m], and betook himself to a most retired and solitary life.

In this retiredness, which was often from the sight of his dearest friends, he became crucified to the world, and all those vanities, those imaginary pleasures that are daily acted on that restless stage; and they were as perfectly crucified to him. Nor is it hard to think (being passions which may be both changed and heightened by accidents) but that that abundant affection which once was betwixt him and her, who had long been the delight of his eyes and the companion of his youth; her, with whom he had divided so many pleasant sorrows and con-

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[l] Mrs. Donne died August 15, 1617, on the seventh day after the birth of her twelfth child, and was buried in the parish church of St. Clement's, near Temple Bar.

[m] It appears that Nicholas Stone, a noted statuary in the reign of James I. made a tomb for Mrs. Donne, to be placed in the church of St. Clement Danes, for the which he had fifteen

tented fears, as common people are not capable of; not hard to think but that she, being now removed by death, a commeasurable grief took as full possession of him as joy had done, and so indeed it did; for now his very soul was elemented of nothing but sadness, now grief took so

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pieces. *(Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting, &c. vol. II. p. 44.)* The following is the inscription on her tomb:

ANNÆ

GEORGII ROBERTI WILIELMI CHRISTOPHERI	More de Lothesley Equitum Aurator.	Filiæ, Sorori, Nepti, Pronepti

Fœminæ lectissimæ, dilectissimæque,
Conjugi charissimæ, castissimæque,
Matri piissimæ, indulgentissimæque,
XV annis in conjugio transactis,
VII post XII partum (quorum VII
Superstant) dies
Immani febre correptæ
(Quod hoc saxum fari jussit
Ipse præ dolore infans)
Maritus (miserrimum dictu) olim
Charæ charus
Cineribus cineres spondet suos
Novo matrimonio (annuat Deus) hoc
Loco sociandos
JOANNES DONNE
Sacræ Theologiæ Professor.
Secessit
Anno XXXIII Ætat. suæ et sui Jesu
CIↃ. DC. XVII.
Aug. XV.

(Strype's Stow's Survey of London, 1720, vol. II. b. 4, p. 113.)

full a possession of his heart, as to leave no place for joy; if it did, it was a joy to be alone, where, like a *pelican in the wilderness*, he might bemoan himself without witness or restraint, and pour forth his passions like Job in the days of his affliction, "Oh that I might have the desire "of my heart! Oh that God would grant the "thing that I long for!" For then, *as the grave is become her house*, so I would hasten to make it mine also, *that we two might there make our beds together in the dark* [a]. Thus as the Israelites sat mourning by the rivers of Babylon, when they remembered Sion [b]; so he gave some ease to his oppressed heart by thus venting his sorrows: Thus he began the day, and ended the night; ended the restless night and be-

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[a] This expression of Donne's grief reminds us of the wretched Romeo's words:

> ...." I will stay with thee;
> "And never from this palace of dim night
> "Depart again: here will I remain
> "With worms, that are thy chamber-maids."
>
> *(Romeo and Juliet, Act V. Scene III.)*

In similar language Theseus laments the death of Phædra:

> Το κατω γας δελω, το κατω γας κυφας,
> Μετοικεω σκοτον δεμας ὁ τλημων,
> Τις σας γαρβας φιλτατας ἀμιλλας.
>
> *(Euripid. Hippolytus, v. 851.)*

[b] Psalm cxxxvii. Dr. Donne translated this psalm into English verse.

gan the weary day in lamentations. And thus he continued till a consideration of his new engagements to God, and St. Paul's "Wo is me if I "preach not the gospel," dispersed those sad clouds that had then benighted his hopes, and now forced him to behold the light.

His first motion from his house was to preach, where his beloved wife lay buried (in St. Clement's Church, near Temple-Bar, London,) and his text was a part of the Prophet Jeremiah's Lamentation: "Lo, I am the man that have seen affliction [p]."

And indeed his very words and looks testified him to be truly such a man; and they, with the addition of his sighs and tears, expressed in his sermon, did so work upon the affections of his hearers, as melted and moulded them into a companionable sadness [q], and so they left the congrega-

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[p] LAMENTATIONS, iii. 1.

"I am the man which have affliction seene,
"Under the rod of God's wrath having beene;
"He hath led mee to darknesse, not to light,
"And against mee all day his hand doth fight."

DONNE.

During this time of his distress he was probably engaged in his Poetic Version of the Lamentations of Jeremiah, following for the most part the translation of Tremellius.

[q] His eloquence in the pulpit is thus described in Darnelly's Latin Poem:

....."vidi,
"Audivi, et stupui, quoties orator in æde
"Paulinâ stetit, et mirâ gravitate levantes

"Corda

tion; but then their houses presented them with objects of diversion, and his presented him with nothing but fresh objects of sorrow, in beholding many helpless children, a narrow fortune, and a consideration of the many cares and casualties that attend their education.

In this time of sadness he was importuned by the grave benchers of Lincoln's Inn (who were once the companions and friends of his youth), to accept of their lecture, which, by reason of Dr. Gataker's[r] removal from thence, was then void; of which he accepted, being most glad to renew his intermitted friendship with those whom he so much loved, and where he had been a Saul, though not to persecute Christianity, or to deride it, yet in his irregular youth to neglect the visible prac-

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" Corda oculosque viros tenuit: dum Nestoris ille
" Fudit verba (omni quantò magè dulcia melle?)
" Nunc habet attonitos, pandit mysteria plebi
" Non concessa priùs, nondum intellecta: revolvunt
" Mirantes, tacitique arrectis auribus astant.
" *Mutatis mox ille modo formâque loquendi*
" *Tristia pertractat: Fatumque et flebile mortis*
" *Tempus, et in cineres redeunt quòd corpora primos.*
" *Tum gemitum cunctos dare, tunc lugere videres,*
" *Forsitan à Lachrymis aliquis non temperat, atque*
" *Ex oculis largum stillat rorem.*"

[r] Mr. Walton tells us, that Dr. Donne was chosen preacher to the Society of Lincoln's Inn, upon the removal of Mr. Thomas Gataker. But this is a mistake: for Mr. Gataker, who is improperly styled Doctor, having never taken any degree but that of Bachelor of Divinity, left Lincoln's Inn for the rectory of

tice of it; there to become a Paul, and preach salvation to his beloved brethren.

And now his life was as a *shining light* among his old friends, now he gave an ocular testimony of the strictness and regularity of it; now he might say as St. Paul adviseth his Corinthians, "Be ye followers of me, as I follow Christ, and "walk as ye have me for an example." Not the example of a busy-body, but of a contemplative, a harmless, a humble, and a holy life and conversation.

Rotherhithe in Surrey, in 1611; six years before Dr. Donne was chosen there.—Mr. THOMAS GATAKER, a solid, judicious, and truly pious divine, highly esteemed by Salmasius and other learned foreigners, was the author of a treatise, once much read, "Of the Nature and Use of Lots, &c." and was justly celebrated for his critical knowledge of the Greek and Hebrew languages. Being one of the Assembly of Divines appointed by Parliament in 1642, he conducted himself in that department with singular prudence and moderation. In the Assembly's Annotations on the Bible, he executed with uncommon ability that division which included Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Lamentations. His Explication of Jeremiah x. 12, subjected him to the severe castigations of the famous astrologer William Lily, against whom he wrote "A Discourse Apologetical, wherein Lilie's lewd and loud lies in "in his Merlin or Pasquil for the year 1654, are clearly laid "open, &c." His house bore the resemblance of a college, where many young men, foreigners as well as natives, continually attended to receive instructions from his lectures. The most approved of his works are "A Dissertation upon the Style "of the New Testament." "A Tract de Nomine Tetra-"grammato—Adversaria Miscellanea." Prefixed to this last work, published by his son, is his own life, written by himself.

The love of that noble Society was expressed to him many ways; for, besides fair lodgings that were set apart and newly furnished for him with all necessaries, other courtesies were also daily added; indeed so many, and so freely, as if they meant their gratitude should exceed his merits: And in this love-strife of desert and liberality, they continued for the space of two years, he preaching faithfully and constantly to them, and they liberally requiting him. About which time the Emperor of Germany died, and the Palsgrave, who had lately married the Lady Elizabeth, the King's only daughter, was elected and crowned King of Bohemia; the unhappy beginning of many miseries in that nation[s].

King James, whose motto[t] *(Beati pacifici)* did truly speak the very thoughts of his heart, endeavoured first to prevent, and after to compose the discords of that discomposed state; and amongst

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[s] Upon the death of the Emperor Matthias, his nephew Ferdinand, who succeeded him in the imperial dignity, caused himself to be proclaimed King of Bohemia. The States of Bohemia considering their crown as elective, made a tender of it to Frederic, Elector Palatine, son-in-law to the King of England, who immediately accepted the offer, and marched all his forces into Bohemia in support of his new subjects.

[t] James was not aware of Queen Elizabeth's maxim, or at least he was not desirous of practising it, that "the people of England "are more governable in times of war than in times of peace." Yet, notwithstanding his well-known pacific disposition, the adulation of a Scotch poet (Alexander Boyle) hath compared him to

other his endeavours, did then send the Lord Hay[v], Earl of Doncaster, his Ambassador to those unsettled Princes; and by a special command from his Majesty, Dr. Donne was appointed to assist and attend that employment to the Princes of the Union; for which the Earl was most glad, who had always put a great value on him, and taken a great pleasure in his conversation and discourse: And his friends of Lincoln's Inn were as glad; for they feared that his immoderate study, and sadness for his wife's death, would, as Jacob said, "make "his days few," and respecting his bodily health, "evil" too; and of this there were many visible signs.

At his going[x] he left his friends of Lincoln's Inn, and they him with many reluctations; for

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to Minerva for his wisdom, and to "Mars for his warlike "qualities."

Primus in orbe Deus, qui jungis Pallada Marti,
Et facis ut titulis cedat uterque tuis.

[v] Of whom see Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. I. p. 61, 8vo edit. 1705.

[x] He thus mentions his journey in a Latin letter to Sir Henry Goodyere. "Elucescit mihi nova nec inopportuna nec inutilis "(paulò quàm optâram fortassis magis inhonora) occasio extera "visendi regna, liberosque perquam amantissimæ conjugis pig-"nora cæteraque hujus auræ oblectamenta aliquot ad annos "relinquendi." Upon this occasion he preached a Sermon of valediction at Lincoln's Inn, April 18, 1619, from whence an extract is inserted in a preceding note.

though he could not say as St. Paul to his Ephesians, "Behold you to whom I have preached the "kingdom of God shall from henceforth see my "face no more;" yet, he believing himself to be in a consumption questioned, and they feared it; all concluding that his troubled mind, with the help of his unintermitted studies, hastened the decays of his weak body: But God, who is the God of all wisdom and goodness, turned it to the best; for this employment (to say nothing of the event of it) did not only divert him from those too serious studies and sad thoughts, but seemed to give him a new life, by a true occasion of joy, to be an eye-witness of the health of his most dear and most honoured mistress, the Queen of Bohemia, in a foreign nation, and to be witness of that gladness which she expressed to see him: Who, having formerly known him a courtier, was much joyed to see him in a canonical habit, and more glad to be an ear-witness of his excellent and powerful preaching [7]. About fourteen months after his departure out of England, he returned to his friends

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[7] This unfortunate princess, from her amiable and engaging manners, was called "The Queen of Hearts."—"God hath "now at last cast her into an ocean of calamities, in which she "still remains a floating example to other princes of the insta-"bility of fortune, as she did in her prosperity, of civility and "goodness." *(Osborne.)*——In Dr. Donne's Poems is an epithalamium or marriage-song on the Lady Elizabeth and Count Palatine being married on St. Valentine's Day: I quote the beginning of it as a specimen of Donne's Poetry.

"Hail

of Lincoln's Inn, with his sorrows moderated and his health improved, and there betook himself to his constant course of preaching.

About a year after his return out of Germany, Dr. Carey[2] was made Bishop of Exeter, and by his removal the Deanery of St. Paul's being vacant, the King sent to Dr. Donne, and appointed him to attend him at dinner the next day. When his Majesty was sat down, before he had eat any meat, he said after his pleasant manner, "Dr. Donne, I have invited you to dinner, "and though you sit not down with me, yet I "will carve to you of a dish that I know you love "well; for knowing you love London, I do there-"fore make you Dean of Paul's; and when I have "dined, then do you take your beloved dish home "to your study, say grace there to yourself, and "much good may it do you."

Immediately after he came to his Deanery, he

"Hail Bishop Valentine, whose day is this,
"All the aire is thy diocis,
"And all the chirping choristers
"And other birds are thy parishioners,
"Thou marryest every yeare
"The lirique larke, and the grave whispering dove,
"The sparrow that neglects his life for love,
"The household bird, with the red stomacher."

[2] VALENTINE CAREY, Master of Christ's College, in Cambridge, and Dean of St. Paul's, is said to have been born in Northumberland. He was consecrated Bishop of Exeter, Nov. 20, 1620, and having well governed this church about six years, he died June 10, 1626.

employed workmen to repair and beautify the chapel, suffering, as holy David once vowed, "His "eyes and temples to take no rest till he had first "beautified the house of God."

The next quarter following, when his father-in-law, Sir George Moor (whom time had made a lover and admirer of him) came to pay him the conditioned sum of twenty pounds, he refused to receive it, and said, as good Jacob did, when he heard his beloved son Joseph was alive, "*It is* "*enough*; you have been kind to me and mine; "I know your present condition is such as not to "abound, and I hope mine is or will be such as "not to need it; I will therefore receive no more "from you upon that contract," and in testimony of it freely gave him up his bond.

Immediately after his admission into his Deanery, the Vicarage of St. Dunstan in the West[a], London, fell to him by the death of Dr. White[b], the

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[a] Isaac Walton, our biographer, was an inhabitant of this parish, and thus became intimately acquainted with Dr. Donne.

[b] Dr. Thomas White, much admired as a preacher, died March 1, 1623, and was buried in his chancel of the church of St. Dunstan in the West. Having founded a lecture in moral philosophy at Oxford, and being also distinguished for many other charitable benefactions, the heads of the university directed an oration to be publicly delivered, on occasion of his death, by William Price, the first reader of that lecture. This oration, with several copies of verses written upon the same subject, was printed under the title of "Schola Moralis Philosophiæ Oxon. in funere Whiti pullata. Oxon. 1624," 4to.

(*Wood's Ath. Ox.*)

advowson of it having been given to him long before by his honourable friend, Richard Earl of Dorset [c], then the patron, and confirmed by his brother, the late deceased Edward [d], both of them men of much honour.

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[c] "Principibus placuisse viris non ultima laus est."……Hor.

The character of this nobleman, RICHARD (SACKVILLE) Earl of Dorset, the friend and patron of Dr. Donne, is thus delineated by the pen of his lady, Anne, daughter and heir of George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, in the manuscript which she has left, containing the history of her life. "He was," says she, "in his own nature of a just mind, of a sweet disposition, and "very valiant in his own person: He had a great advantage in "his breeding by the wisdom and discretion of his grandfather, "Thomas Earl of Dorset, Lord High Treasurer of England, "who was then held one of the wisest men of that time; by "which means he was so good a scholar in all manner of learn-"ing, that in his youth when he lived in the University of "Oxford, there was none of the young nobility then students "there, that excelled him. He was also a good patriot to his "country, and generally well beloved in it, much esteemed in "all the parliaments that sat in his time; and so great a lover "of scholars and soldiers, as that with an excessive bounty to-"wards them, or indeed any of worth that were in distress, he "did much diminish his estate: As also, with excessive pro-"digality in house-keeping and other noble ways at court, as "tilting, masking, and the like; Prince Henry being then alive, "who was much addicted to those noble exercises, and of whom "he was much beloved."

(Collins's Peerage, vol. II. p. 194, 195.)

[d] This nobleman, Edward (SACKVILLE) Earl of Dorset, was entrusted with the command of the English forces which were sent to the assistance of the King of Bohemia in 1620; and in the

By these, and other ecclesiastical endowments which fell to him about the same time, given to him formerly by the Earl of Kent, he was enabled to become charitable to the poor and kind to his friends, and to make such provision for his children, that they were not left scandalous, as relating to their or his profession and quality.

The next parliament, which was within that present year, he was chosen Prolocutor[e] to the Convocation, and about that time was appointed by his Majesty, his most gracious master, to preach very many occasional sermons, as at St. Paul's Cross and other places; all which employments he performed to the admiration of the representative body of the whole clergy of this nation.

He was once, and but once, clouded with the King's displeasure, and it was about this time; which was occasioned by some malicious whisperer, who told his Majesty that Dr. Donne had put on

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the next year was appointed Ambassador to the court of France. Of the melancholy catastrophe of a duel with his intimate friend Lord Bruce, see *The Guardians, No.* 129, 133. During the civil wars he distinguished himself by his loyalty to Charles I. with whose death he was so deeply affected, that after that event he never went out of his own house. He died July 17, 1652.

[e] On this occasion he spoke a Latin oration as his inauguration speech, which is extant in his "Poems, &c. 8vo, London, 1719." Dr. Joseph Hall preached the Latin sermon on the opening of this Convocation, which was held in 1624, and in which large subsidies were granted by the clergy to the King.

the general humour of the pulpits, and was become busy in insinuating a fear of the King's inclining to Popery, and a dislike of his government, and particularly for the King's then turning the Evening Lectures into catechising, and expounding the Prayer of our Lord, and of the Belief and Commandments. His Majesty was the more inclinable to believe this, for that a person of nobility and great note, betwixt whom and Dr. Donne there had been a great friendship, was at this very time discarded the court (I shall forbear his name unless I had a fairer occasion), and justly committed to prison, which begot many rumours in the common people, who in this nation think they are not wise unless they be busy about what they understand not, and especially about religion.

The King received this news with so much discontent and restlessness, that he would not suffer the sun to set and leave him under this doubt, but sent for Dr. Donne, and required his answer to the accusation, which was so clear and satisfactory, that the King said "He was right "glad he rested no longer under the suspicion." When the King had said this, Dr. Donne kneeled down and thanked his Majesty, and protested his answer was faithful and free from all collusion, and therefore "desired that he might "not rise, till, as in like cases he always had "from God, so he might have from his Majesty "some [illegible] that he stood clear and fair in

"his opinion." At which the King raised him from his knees with his own hands, and "protested he believed him, and that he knew he "was an honest man, and doubted not but that "he loved him truly." And having thus dismissed him, he called some Lords of his Council into his chamber, and said with much earnestness "My Doctor is an honest man; and, my Lords, "I was never better satisfied with an answer "than he hath now made me; and I always "rejoice when I think that by my means he became a divine."

He was made Dean in the fiftieth year of his age, and in his fifty-fourth year a dangerous sickness seized him, which inclined him to a consumption. But God, as Job thankfully acknowledged, *preserved his spirit*, and kept his intellectuals as clear and perfect as when that sickness first seized his body; but it continued long and threatened him with death, which he dreaded not.

In this distemper of body, his dear friend, Dr. Henry King (then chief Residentiary of that church, and late Bishop of Chichester), a man generally known by the clergy of this nation, and as generally noted for his obliging nature, visited him daily, and observing that his sickness rendered his recovery doubtful, he chose a seasonable time to speak to him to this purpose:

"Mr. Dean, I am by your favour no stranger "to your temporal estate, and you are no stranger "to the offer lately made us, for the renewing

"a lease of the best prebends corps belonging to "our church, and you know it was denied, for "that our tenant being very rich offered to fine "at so low a rate as held not proportion with "his advantages; but I will either raise him to "an higher sum, or procure that the other re-"sidentiaries shall join to accept of what was "offered: One of these I can and will by your "favour do without delay, and without any "trouble either to your body or mind; I beseech "you to accept of my offer, for I know it will "be a considerable addition to your present "estate, which I know needs it."

To this, after a short pause, and raising himself upon his bed, he made this reply:

"My most dear friend, I most humbly thank "you for your many favours, and this in par-"ticular; but in my present condition I shall "not accept of your proposal, for doubtless there "is such a sin as sacrilege; if there were not, it "could not have a name in scripture: And the "primitive clergy were watchful against all ap-"pearances of that evil; and indeed then all "Christians looked upon it with horror and "detestation, judging it to be even an *open "defiance of the power and providence of Al-"mighty God, and a sad presage of declining "religion.* But instead of such Christians, who "had selected times set apart to fast and pray "to God for a pious clergy which they then "did obey, our times abound with men that are

"busy and litigious about trifles and church-
"ceremonies, and yet so far from scrupling sacri-
"lege, that they make not so much as a query
"what it is: But, I thank God I have; and,
"dare not now upon my sick-bed, when Al-
"mighty God hath made me useless to the
"service of the church, make any advantages
"out of it. But if he shall again restore me
"to such a degree of health as again to serve
"at his altar, I shall then gladly take the re-
"ward which the bountiful benefactors of this
"church have designed me; for God knows my
"children and relations will need it; in which
"number my mother (whose credulity and charity
"has contracted a very plentiful to a very narrow
"estate) must not be forgotten: But, Doctor
"King, if I recover not, that little worldly estate
"that I shall leave behind me (that very little
"when divided into eight parts) must, if you
"deny me not so charitable a favour, fall into
"yours hands as my most faithful friend and
"executor, of whose care and justice I make
"no more doubt than of God's blessing on that
"which I have conscientiously collected for them,
"but it shall not be augmented on my sick-bed;
"and this I declare to be my unalterable re-
"solution."

The reply to this was only a promise to observe his request.

Within a few days his distempers abated, and as his strength increased, so did his thankfulness

to Almighty God, testified in his most excellent Book of Devotions[f], which he published at his recovery; in which the reader may see the most secret thoughts that then possessed his soul

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[f] This book is dedicated "To the most excellent Prince, Prince Charles." The two following extracts from this work will give a sufficient specimen of the manner in which it is written.

"THE PATIENT TAKES HIS BED.

"THIRD MEDITATION.

"We attribute but one priviledge and advantage to man's "body above other moving creatures, that he is not, as others, "groveling, but of an erect, of an upright form, naturally "built and disposed to the contemplation of *heaven*. Indeed "it is a thankeful form, and recompenses that *soule* which gives "it, with carrying that *soule*, so many foot higher towards "*heaven;* other creatures look to the *earth;* and even that "is no unfit object, no unfit contemplation for *man;* for "thither he must come; but because *man* is not to stay there "as other creatures are, *man* in his natural form is carried to "the contemplation of that place, which is his home, *heaven*. "This is man's prerogative; but what state hath he in this "dignity? A fever can fillip him downe; a fever can depose "him; a fever can bring that head, which yesterday carried "a *crowne* of gold, five foot towards a *crowne* of glory, as low "as his own foot to-day. When *God* came to breathe into "*man* the breath of life, he found him flat upon the ground; "when he comes to withdraw that breath from him againe, "he prepares him to it by laying him flat upon his bed. "Scarce any prison so close, that affords not the prisoner two "or three steps. The *Anchorites* that barqu'd themselves up "in hollow trees, and immured themselves in hollow walls; "that perverse man that barrell'd himself in a tubbe, all could "stand or sit, and enjoy some change of posture. A sicke-bed

"is

paraphrased and made public; a book that may not unfitly be called a *Sacred Picture of Spiritual Ecstasies*, occasioned and appliable to the emergencies of that sickness; which book, being a

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" is a grave, and all that the patient sayes there is but varying " his *epitaph*. Every night's bed is a *type* of the *grave*: At night " we tell our servants at what houre we will rise, here we " cannot tell ourselves at what day, what week, what month. " There the head lies as low as the foot; the head of the people " as low as they whom those feete trod upon: And that hand, " that signed pardon, is too weake to begge his own, if he " might have it for lifting up that hand: Strange fetters to " the feete, strange manacles to the hands, when the feete " and hands are bound so much the faster, by how much " the coardes are slacker; soe much the lesse able to do their " offices, by how much more the sinews and ligaments are the " looser. In the *grave* I may speak through the stones in " the voice of my friends, and in the accents of those words " which their love may afford my memory. Heere I am mine " own *ghost*, and rather affright my beholders than instruct " them: they conceive the worst of me now, and yet feare " worse; they give me for dead now and yet wonder how " I do when wake at midnight, and aske how I doe to-morrow. " Miserable and (though common to all) inhumane *posture*, " where I must practise my lying in the grave by lying still, " and not practise my *resurrection* by rising any more."

" EIGHTEENTH MEDITATION.

" The bell rings out and tells mee in him that I am dead. " This *soule*, this *bell* tells mee, is *gone out*: Whither? who " shall tell mee that? I know not *who* it is; much lesse *what* " he was; the condition of the man, and the course of his " life, which should tell mee *whither* he is gone, I know not. " I was not there in his *sicknesse*, nor at his *death*; I saw " not his *way*, nor his *end*, nor can aske them who did,

 " thereby

composition of meditations, disquisitions, and prayers, he writ on his sick-bed; herein imitating the holy Patriarchs, who were wont to build their altars in that place where they had received their blessings.

This sickness brought him so near to the gates of death, and he saw the grave so ready to devour him, that he would often say his recovery was supernatural[t]: But that God that then restored his health continued it to him till the fifty-ninth year of his life, and then in August, 1630, being with his eldest daughter, Mrs. Harvy, at Abury Hatch in Essex, he there fell into a fever, which, with the help of his constant infirmity (vapours from the spleen), hastened him into so visible a consumption, that his beholders might say, as

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"thereby to *conclude* or *argue* whither he is gone. But yet "I have one nearer mee than all these; mine own *charity*: "I aske that; and that tells mee '*He is gone to everlasting* "*rest, and joy, and glory.*' I owe him a good opinion; it is "but *thankful charity* in mee, because I received *benefit and* "*instruction* from him when his *bell* tolled: And I, being made "the fitter to *pray* by that disposition wherein I was assisted "by his occasion, did *pray* for him; and I *pray* not without "*faith*; so I doe *charitably*, so I doe faithfully beleeve that "that *soule* is gone to everlasting *rest*, and *joy*, and *glory*."

[t] Dr. Donne, in 1626, was named in a commission with Archbishop Abbot, several Bishops, Doctors in Divinity, and Doctors in Civil Law, to hear the cause between Dr. Kineslay, Archdeacon of Canterbury, and the Rev. Mr. George Huntley, who had refused to preach a visitation sermon, at the command of the Archdeacon. "The Case of a Rector," &c. p. 10.

t. Paul of himself, "He dies daily;" and he ight say with Job, "My welfare passeth away as a cloud, the days of my affliction have taken hold of me, and weary nights are appointed for me."

Reader, this sickness continued long, not only eakening but wearying him so much, that my esire is he may now take some rest; and that efore I speak of his death, thou wilt not think an impertinent digression to look back with e upon some observations of his life; which, hilst a gentle slumber gives rest to his spirits, ay, I hope, not unfitly exercise thy consideration.

His marriage was the remarkable error of his fe; an error, which though he had a wit able nd very apt to maintain paradoxes, yet he was ery far from justifying it; and though his wife's ompetent years, and other reasons might be astly urged to moderate severe censures, yet e would occasionally condemn himself for it. and doubtless it had been attended with an eavy repentance, if God had not blest them ith so mutual and cordial affections, as in the idst of their sufferings made their bread of orrow taste more pleasantly than the banquets f dull and low-spirited people.

The recreations of his youth were poetry[h], in

[h] Whatever praise may be due to the poems of Dr. Donne, ey are certainly deficient in the beauties of versification. To emedy this defect, his Satires have been *translated into English erse*, by Mr. Pope. His Latin Epigrams are translated by

which he was so happy as if Nature and all her varieties had been made only to exercise his sharp wit and high fancy; and in those pieces which were facetiously composed and carelessly scattered (most of them being written before the twentieth year of his age), it may appear by his choice metaphors, that both Nature and all the Arts joined to assist him with their utmost skill.

It is a truth, that in his penitential years, viewing some of those pieces that had been loosely (God knows too loosely) scattered in his youth, he wished they had been abortive, or so short lived, that his own eyes had witnessed their funerals: But though he was no friend to

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Dr. Jasper Mayne, who edited them in 1652, with the title of "A Sheaf of Miscellany Epigrams." Mr. Hume (*Hist. of England, vol. VI. p.* 132.) has observed, that in Donne's satires, and indeed in all his poetical compositions, there appear some flashes of wit and ingenuity, but that these are totally suffocated and buried by the harshest and most uncouth expression which is any where to be met with. On Donne and his poetry see some interesting remarks in "Dr. Warton's Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope," vol. II. p. 353. It has been humourously remarked, that verses ought to run like Ovid's, or walk like Virgil's, and not to stand still like Dr. Donne's. Yet Ben Jonson, in an epigram to Donne, calls him "The delight of Phœbus and each Muse:" and that he could make soft and smooth verses, appears from the following little poem:

"Come live with me, and be my love,
"And we will some new pleasures prove,
"Of golden sands, and crystal brooks,
"With silken lines and silver hooks.
"There will the river whisp'ring run," &c.

them, he was not so fallen out with heavenly poetry as to forsake that, no not in his declining age, witnessed then by many divine sonnets, and other high, holy, and harmonious composures; yea, even on his former sick-bed he wrote this heavenly hymn, expressing the great joy that then possessed his soul in the assurance of God's favour to him when he composed it.

AN HYMN

TO GOD THE FATHER[1].

WILT thou forgive that sin where I begun,
Which was my sin, though it were done before?
Wilt thou forgive that sin through which I run,
And do run still though still I do deplore?
When thou hast done thou hast not done,
For I have more.

Wilt thou forgive that sin, which I have won
Others to sin, and made my sin their door?
Wilt thou forgive that sin which I did shun
A year or two, but wallow'd in a score?
When thou hast done thou hast not done,
For I have more.

I have a sin of fear, that when I've spun
My last thread, I shall perish on the shore:
But swear by thyself, that at my death thy Son
Shall shine as he shines now and heretofore:
And having done that, thou hast done,
I fear no more.

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[1] This composition is not, surely, embellished with poetical beauties. The reader who is desirous of forming a just opinion of the merit of metaphysical poets, among whom Dr. Donne

I have rather mentioned this hymn, for that he caused it to be set to a most grave and solemn tune, and to be often sung to the organ by the choristers of St. Paul's Church in his own hearing, especially at the evening service, and at his return from his customary devotions in that place, did occasionally say to a friend, "The words of this "hymn have restored to me the same thoughts of "joy that possessed my soul in my sickness when "I composed it. And, O the power of church-"music[k]! that harmony added to this hymn has "raised the affections of my heart, and quickened "my graces of zeal and gratitude; and I observe "that I always return from paying this public "duty of prayer and praise to God, with an un-"expressible tranquillity of mind, and a willingness "to leave the world."

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is to be ranked in the first class, will consult Dr. Johnson's remarks in his Life of Mr. Cowley. "We can have little in-"ducement to peruse the works of men, who instead of writing "poetry wrote only verse, who cannot be said to have imitated "any thing, as they neither copied nature from life, neither "painted the forms of matter, nor represented the operations "of intellect. Deficient in the sublime and the pathetic, they "abounded in hyperbole, in unnatural thoughts, violent fictions, "foolish conceits, expressions either grossly absurd, or in-"delicate and disgusting."

(Dr. Johnson's Works, vol. IX. p. 24.)

[k] On the antiquity, use, and excellence of church-music, see "Bishop Horne's sixteen Sermons on various Subjects and "Occasions," p. 265.

After this manner did the disciples of our Saviour, and the best of Christians in those ages of the church nearest to his time, offer their praises to Almighty God; and the readers of St. Augustine's life may there find, that towards his dissolution he wept abundantly, that the enemies of Christianity[1] had broke in upon them, and prophaned and ruined their sanctuaries, and because their public hymns and lauds were lost out of their churches. And after this manner have many devout souls lifted up their hands and offered acceptable sacrifices unto Almighty God where Dr. Donne offered his, and now lies buried. "But "now, O Lord, how is that place become deso- "late[m]."——Anno 1656.

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[1] St. AUGUSTIN died after the Goths and Vandals had with much barbarous cruelty and blood shedding over-run the greatest part of his native country of Africa; only three cities of any note were preserved from their fury, of which his own city, Hippo, was one, though besieged by them fourteen months. According to his prayer he was delivered out of their hands by the mercy of God, who took him to himself during the time of the siege. See his life written by Posidonius, and usually prefixed to his works.

[m] By the votes of both Houses, made in the Long Parliament, Sept. 10-11, anno 1642, for the abolishing of bishops, deans, and chapters, the very foundation of this famous cathedral, says Sir William Dugdale, was utterly shaken in pieces. In the following year the famous cross in the church-yard, which had been for many ages the most noted and solemn place in this nation for the

Before I proceed further, I think fit to inform the reader, that not long before his death he caused to be drawn a figure of the body of Christ, extended upon an anchor, like those which painters draw when they would present us with the picture of Christ crucified on the cross; his varying no otherwise than to affix him not to a cross, but to an anchor (the emblem of hope); this he caused to be drawn in little, and then many of those figures thus drawn to be engraven very small in Helitropium stones [n], and set in gold, and of those he sent to many of his dearest friends, to

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the greatest divines and greatest scholars to preach at, was pulled down to the ground; the stalls of the Quire were also taken away; as also part of the pavement torn up, and monuments utterly demolished or defaced. The scaffolds erected for the repair of the church were given to the soldiers, and by them pits were dug for sawing up the timber in several places thereof, even where some reverend bishops and other persons of quality lay interred; and afterwards the body of the church was frequently converted to a horse-quarter for soldiers.

(See Kennet's Register and Chronicle, p. 549.)

[n] The Heliotropium is a very beautiful species of jasper, and has been long known to the world as a gem. Its colour is a fine and strong green, sometimes pure and simple, but more frequently with an admixture of blue in it. It is moderately transparent in thin pieces, and is always veined, clouded, and spotted with a blood red. From this, its most obvious character, it has obtained among our jewellers the name of the blood-stone.

(Lewis's Materia Medica.)

ie used as seals or rings, and kept as memorials of iim, and his affection to them.

His dear friends and benefactors, Sir Henry Goodier [o], and Sir Robert Drewry, could not be of that number, nor could the Lady Magdalen Herbert [p], the mother of George Herbert, for they had put off mortality, and taken possession of the grave before him; but Sir Henry Wotton and Dr. Hall [q], the then late deceased Bishop of Norwich were; and so were Dr. Duppa, Bishop

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[o] One of the gentlemen of his Majesty's Privy Chamber. To iim Dr. Donne has addressed several of his letters in the Collection, which was printed in 1651.

"To the honour of Sir Henry Goodyer of Polesworth, a 'Knight memorable for his virtues," saith Camden, "an affec-'tionate friend of his made this tetrastick."

"An ill year of a Goodyer us bereft,
"Who gon to God much lack of him here left;
"Full of good gifts of body and of minde,
"Wise, comely, learned, eloquent, and kinde."
(Weever's Ancient Fun. Monuments, p. 302)

[p] Of this excellent woman see "Walton's Life of Mr. George 'Herbert."

[q] Dr. Joseph Hall, Bishop of Norwich. "The learned have 'given him this character, that he was 'Our English Seneca,' 'dexterous at controversy, not unhappy at comments, very 'good at characters, better in sermons, best of all in meditations "and contemplations, all which have long since been put out in "three

of Salisbury [r], and Dr. Henry King, Bishop of Chichester (lately deceased); men, in whom there

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"three volumes." *(Magna Britannia, vol. III. p. 394.)* Full of the spirit of Juvenal and Persius, he is considered as the first of our satirical poets. He introduces his celebrated work, "Virgidemiarum" with these lines——

"I first adventure, follow me who list,
"And be the second English Satirist."

His disapprobation of burying the dead in churches is thus expressed in his last will: "I Joseph Hall, D. D. not worthy to "be called Bishop of Norwich, &c. First, I bequeath my soul, "&c. my body I leave to be interred without any funeral pomp, "at the direction of my executors, with this only monition, that "*I do not hold God's house a meet repository for the dead bodies of* "*the greatest saints.*" Accordingly he himself was buried in the church-yard at Heigham near Norwich.—Compton, Bishop of London, entertained the same sentiments—"The church for the "living,—the church-yard for the dead."

[r] Dr. BRYAN DUPPA, translated from the see of Chichester, to that of Salisbury, was deprived of all his preferment on the breaking out of the rebellion. Having faithfully continued his attendance on the King, to the time of his ever-to-be-lamented death, he afterward retired to Richmond in Surrey, where he devoted himself to study and devotion. At the restoration he was promoted to Winchester; and died, March 26, 1662. On the day preceding his death, Charles II. to whom he had been preceptor, visited him in his bed-chamber, and on his bended knees implored his benediction. "He died," says Wood, "as "he lived, honoured and beloved of all that knew him; a person "of so clear and eminent candour, that he left not the least spot "upon his life or function, maugre the busy sedition of those "who then, as before, blacked the very surplice, and made the "liturgy profane."

was such a commixture of general learning, of natural eloquence, and Christian humility, that they deserve a commemoration by a pen equal to their own, which none have exceeded.

And in this enumeration of his friends, though many must be omitted, yet that man of primitive piety, Mr. George Herbert, may not: I mean that George Herbert, who was the author of "The "Temple, or Sacred Poems and Ejaculations;" a book, in which, by declaring his own spiritual conflicts, he hath comforted and raised many a dejected and discomposed soul, and charmed them into sweet and quiet thoughts; a book, by the frequent reading whereof, and the assistance of that spirit that seemed to inspire the author, the reader may attain habits of peace and piety, and all the gifts of the Holy Ghost and heaven, and may by still reading, still keep those sacred fires burning upon the altar of so pure a heart, as shall free it from the anxieties of this world, and keep it fixed upon things that are above. Betwixt this George Herbert and Dr. Donne there was a long and dear friendship, made up by such a sympathy of inclinations, that they coveted and joyed to be in each other's company; and this happy friendship was still maintained by many sacred endearments, of which that which followeth may be some testimony.

TO Mr. GEORGE HERBERT,

SENT HIM WITH ONE OF MY SEALS OF THE ANCHOR AND CHRIST.

A sheaf of snakes used heretofore to be my seal, which is the cre[illegible] of our poor family.

Qui priùs assuetus serpentum falce tabellas
  Signare, hæc nostræ symbola parva domûs
Adscitus domui domini.——

Adopted in God's family, and so
My old coat lost, into new arms I go.
The cross my seal in baptism spread below,
Does by that form into an anchor grow.
Crosses grow anchors, bear as thou should'st do
Thy cross, and that cross grows an anchor too.
But he that makes our crosses anchors thus,
Is Christ, who there is crucify'd for us.
Yet with this I may my first serpents hold;
(God gives new blessings, and yet leaves the old)
The serpent may, as wise, my pattern be,
My poison, as he feeds on dust, that's me.
And, as he rounds the earth to murder, sure
He is my death; but on the cross my cure.
Crucify nature then; and then implore
All grace from him, crucify'd there before.
When all is cross, and that cross anchor grown,
This seal's a catechism, not a seal alone.
Under that little seal great gifts I send,
Both works and prayers, pawns and fruits of a friend.
Oh may that saint that rides on our great seal,
To you that bear his name large bounty deal.

JOHN DONNE.

IN SACRAM ANCHORAM PISCATORIS,

GEORGE HERBERT.

Quòd Crux nequibat fixa clavique additi,
Tenere Christum scilicet ne ascenderet,
Tuíve Christum.....

Although the cross could not Christ here detain,
When nail'd unto't, but he ascends again;
Nor yet thy eloquence here keep him still,
But only whil'st thou speak'st, this anchor will:
Nor canst thou be content, unless thou to
This certain anchor add a seal, and so
The water and the earth, both unto thee
Do owe the symbol of their certainty.
Let the world reel, we and all ours stand sure,
This holy cable's from all storms secure.

GEORGE HERBERT.

I return to tell the reader, that besides these rses to his dear Mr. Herbert, and that hymn at I mentioned to be sung in the Quire of . Paul's Church, he did also shorten and beguile any sad hours by composing other sacred ditties, d he writ an hymn on his death-bed, which ars this title:——

A HYMN TO GOD MY GOD.

IN MY SICKNESS, MARCH 23, 1630.

Since I am coming to that holy room,
Where, with thy quire of saints for evermore
I shall be made thy music, as I come
I tune my instrument here at the door,
And what I must do then, think here before.

Since my physicians by their loves are grown
Cosmographers; and I their map, who lie
Flat on this bed.....
.....

So, in his purple wrapt, receive me, Lord!
By these his thorns, give me his other crown:
And, as to other souls I preach'd thy word,
Be this my text, my sermon to mine own,
"That he may raise, therefore the Lord throws down."

If these fall under the censure of a soul, whose too much mixture with earth, makes it unfit to judge of these high raptures and illuminations, let him know that many holy and devout men have thought the soul of Prudentius [1] to be most

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[1] AURELIUS PRUDENTIUS CLEMENS, a Christian poet of the fourth century, was a native of Spain. He spent the earlier period of his life in more active scenes, distinguishing himself as an advocate at the bar, a soldier in the camp, and lastly as a courtier in the Imperial Court. He attempted not to write verses until he was advanced in years: "*Tandem verò in senectute* "*repulsâ mundi vanitate ad sacras Scripturas se contulit, et Carmine* "*ac Prosâ multa utriusque Testamenti abstrusa exposuit.*" (J. Trithemius.)——Gyraldus observes, that in his works there is more of religious zeal, than of the beauties of poetry, *Melior omnino Christianus est quàm Poeta.* In the proem to the hymns of the *Cathemerinon*, having described his conduct in the former part of his life, he declares his intention of celebrating God in daily hymns, and of exercising himself in discussing sacred subjects.

"Hymnis continuet dies,
"Nec nox ulla vacet, quin Dominum canat;
"Pugnet contra hæreses; catholicam discutiat fidem;
"Conculcet

refined, when not many days before his death "he charged it to present his God each morning "and evening with a new and spiritual song;" justified by the example of King David and the good King Hezekiah, who upon the renovation of his years paid his thankful vows to Almighty God in a royal hymn, which he concludes in these words, "The Lord was ready to save, therefore I "will sing my songs to the stringed instruments all "the days of my life in the temple of my God."

The latter part of his life may be said to be a continued study; for as he usually preached once a-week, if not oftener, so after his sermon he never gave his eyes rest till he had chosen out a new text, and that night cast his sermon into a form, and his text into divisions[1]; and the next day betook himself to consult the fathers, and so commit his meditations to his memory, which was

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"Conculcet sacra gentium;
"Labem, Roma, tuis inferat Idolis,
"Carmen Martyribus devoveat, laudet Apostolos.

[1] It was Dr. Hammond's method, and surely not unworthy of imitation, "After every sermon to resolve upon the ensuing sub-"ject; that being done, to pursue the course of study which he "was then in hand with, reserving the close of the week for the "provision for the next Lord's Day; whereby not only a con-"stant progress was made in science, but materials unawares "were gained unto the immediate future work: For, he said, "be the subjects treated of never so distant, somewhat will "infallibly fall in, conducible to the present purpose."

(Fell's Life of Dr. Hammond, p. 11.)

excellent. But upon Saturday he usually gave himself and his mind a rest from the weary burthen of his week's meditations, and usually spent that day in visitation of friends or some other diversions of his thoughts; and would say, "that he gave both his body and mind that re-"freshment, that he might be enabled to do the "work of the day following, not faintly, but with "courage and cheerfulness."

Nor was his age only so industrious, but in the most unsettled days of his youth, his bed was not able to detain him beyond the hour of four in a morning; and it was no common business that drew him out of his chamber till past ten; all which time was employed in study, though he took great liberty after it. And if this seem strange, it may gain a belief by the visible fruits of his labours, some of which remain as testimonies of what is here written, for he left the resultance of 1400 authors, most of them abridged and analysed with his own hand; he left also six score of his sermons, all written with his own hand; also an exact and laborious treatise concerning self-murder [u], called "Biathanatos," where-

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[u] We have a full account of this tractate in the two following letters.

"TO THE NOBLEST KNIGHT,

SIR EDWARD HERBERT.

"SIR,

"I make account that thys booke hath enough perform'd y^t "wch yt undertooke, both by argument and example. It shall

in all the laws violated by that act are diligently surveyed, and judiciously censured; a treatise written in his younger days, which alone might declare him then not only perfect in the Civil and Canon Law, but in many other such studies and

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"shall therefore the lesse need to bee yttselfe another ex-
"ample of ye doctrine. Itt shall not therefore kyll yttselfe;
"that ys, not bury yttselfe; for if ytt should do so, those resons
"by wch that act should bee defended or excus'd, were also lost
"with ytt. Since it is content to live, ytt cannot chuse a whol-
"somer ayre than yor library, where authors of all complexions
"are preserv'd. If any of them grudge thys booke a roome,
"and suspect ytt of new or dangerous doctrine, you, who know
"us all, can best moderate. To those reasons wch I know your
"love to mee wyll make in my faver and discharge, you may
"add thys, That though this doctrine hath not been tought nor
"defended by writers, yet they, most of any sorte of men in
"the world, have practis'd ytt.

"Yo^r very true and earnest frinde, and servant and lover,

"J. DONNE."

This address to Sir Edward Herbert, is prefixed to the original MS. of Dr. Donne's ΒΙΑΘΑΝΑΤΟΣ, which is now preserved in the Bodleian Library, and was given to that place by Lord Herbert himself, in the year 1642, with the following inscription in capitals:

HUNC LIBRUM AB AUTHORE CUM EPISTOLA QUÆ PRÆIT ΑΥΤΟΓΡΑΦΩ DONO SIBI DATUM DUM EQUESTRIS OLIM ESSET ORDINIS EDVARDUS HERBERT, JAM BARO DE CHERBURY IN ANGLIA, ET CASTRI INSULÆ DE KERRY IN HIBERNIA, E SUA BIBLIOTHECA IN BODLEIANAM TRANSTULIT MERITISS. IN ALMAM MATREM ACAD. OXON. PIETATIS ET OBSERVANTIÆ ΜΝΗΜΟΣΥΝΟΝ, M,DC,XLII.

arguments, as enter not into the consideration of many that labour to be thought great clerks, and pretend to know all things.

" TO SIR ROBERT CARRE, NOW EARL OF ANKERAM,

" WITH MY BOOK BIAΘANATOΣ, AT MY GOING INTO GERMANY.

" SIR,

" I had need to do somewhat towards you above my promises, " How weak are my performances, when even my promises are " defective? I cannot promise, no not in mine own hopes, equally " to your merit towards me. But besides the poems, of which " you took a promise, I send you another book, to which there " belongs this history. It was written by me many years since. " and because it is upon a misinterpretable subject, I have always " gone so near suppressing it, as that it is onely not burnt: No " hand hath passed upon it to copy it, nor many eyes to read it; " onely to some particular friends in both Universities then when " I writ it did I communicate it; and I remember I had this " answer, that certainly there was a false thread in it, but not " easily found. Keep it, I pray, with the same jealousie; let " any that your discretion admits to the sight of it know the " date of it, and that it is a book written by Jack Donne, and " not by Dr. Donne. Reserve it for me if I live, and if I die I " only forbid it the presse and the fire: Publish it not, but yet " burn it not; and between those do what you will with it. Love " me still thus far for your own sake, that when you withdraw " your love from me, you will find so many unworthinesses in " me, as you grow ashamed of having had so long and so much. " such a thing as

" Your poor servt. in Chr. Jes.

" J. DONNE."

It was first published by authority in 1644, and dedicated by his son, John Donne, to Lord Philip Herbert. In this dedication he assigns the reason of his disobedience to his father's order. " It was writ long since by my father, and by him forbid both " the

Nor were these only found in his study, but all businesses that passed of any public consequence, either in this or any of our neighbour-nations, he

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" the presse and the fire; neither had I subjected it now to the " publique view, but that I could finde no certain way to defend " it from the one, but by committing it to the other; for since " the beginning of this war my study having been often searched, " all my books (and allmost my braines, by their continuall " allarums) sequestered for the use of the committee; two dan- " gers appeared more eminently to hover over this, being then a " manuscript; a danger of being utterly lost, and a danger of " being utterly found, and fathered by some of those wild " Atheists, who, as if they came into the world by conquest, " owne all other men's wits, and are resolved to be learned in " despite of their starres, that would fairely have enclined them " to a more modest and honest course of life." The system advanced in this book has been accurately examined, and with great strength of argument refuted by the Rev. Charles Moore, in his "Full Enquiry into the Subject of Suicide," vol. I. p. 83,—103, and vol. II. p. 1,—41. The learned author of that excellent work, in his letter, dated Jan. 27, 1794, informs me, that since its publication he has seen a small tract, called "Life's " Preservative against Self-killing, &c. by John Syer, Minister " of Leigh in Essex, London, 1637," which, though published after Dr. Donne's death, yet before the Biathanatos appeared, is in effect a very full and complete answer to it, written in its own method of scholastic divisions and sub-divisions, *ad infinitum*.

The following extract, containing a short criticism on this work of Donne, will not be unacceptable to the learned reader. " Donne, docteur Anglois et sçavant Theologien de ce siecle, " est connu par un livre en sa langue, imprimé à Londres sous " ce titre: Βιαθανατος. C'est une espece d'apologie du Suicide. " Il cite, pour appuyer ses dangereuses idées, l'example d'un " grand nombre de heros paiens, ensuite celui de quelques saints " de l'ancien Testament, d'une foule de martyrs, de confesseurs,

abbreviated either in Latin, or in the language of that nation, and kept them by him for useful memorials: So he did the copies of divers letters and cases of conscience that had concerned his friends, with his observations and solutions of them, and divers other businesses of importance, all particularly and methodically digested by himself.

He did prepare to leave the world before life left him, making his will when no faculty of his soul was damped or made defective by pain or sickness, or he surprised by a sudden apprehension of death; but it was made with mature deliberation, expressing himself an impartial father by making his children's portions equal, and a lover of his friends, whom he remembered with legacies fitly and discreetly chosen and bequeathed. I cannot forbear a nomination of some of them; for, methinks, they be persons that seem to challenge a recordation in this place; as namely, to his brother-in-law Sir Thomas Grimes, he gave that striking clock[x] which he had long worn in his pocket; to his dear friend and executor Dr. King

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" de penitens, &c. Jesus Christ même est amené en preuve de " son systéme. Un livre aussi extraordinaire n'empêche pas " l'auteur de devenir Doyen de S. Paul, parce qu'il sut regardé " comme une sorte de consolation qu'il vouloit donner à ses com- " patriots, que la melancolie jette souvent dans cette fureur."— *(Nouveau. Dict. Hist.—Caen.* 1783.*)*

[x] CHARLES I. on the morning of his execution, presented his attendant, Mr. Thomas Herbert, with his *silver clock.*

(late Bishop of Chichester), that model of gold of the Synod of Dort[y], with which the States presented him at his last being at the Hague; and the two pictures of Padre Paolo[z], and Ful-

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[y] The States General directed a gold medal to be struck in commemoration of the Synod held at Dort. On one side is represented the Assembly of the Synod, with this inscription, "ASSERTA RELIGIONE." On the reverse, a mountain, on the summit of which is a temple, to which men are ascending along a very steep path. The four winds are blowing with great violence against the mountain. Above the temple is written the word JEHOVAH, in Hebrew characters. The inscription is "ERUNT UT MONS SION. CIↃDCXIX." These winds are intended to represent those who at that time much disturbed the tranquillity of the church. *(Histoire Metallique de la Republique de Holland, par M. Bizot. tom. I. p. 139.)*

[z] "Let me be bold to send you for a new-year's gift, a "certain memorial not altogether unworthy of some entertain-"ment under your roof, a true picture of Padre Paolo the Servita, "which was first taken by a painter, whom I sent unto him "from my house, then neighbouring his monastery. I have "newly added thereunto a title of mine own conception. "'Councilii Tridentini Eviscerator.' You will find a scar in "his face, that was from a Roman assassine that would have "killed him as he was turned to a wall near his convent." *(Sir Henry Wotton's Letter to Dr. Samuel Collins, Provost of King's College, and Professor Regius of Divinity, Jan.* 17, 1637*).*

In this letter the character of Father Paul is drawn in such pleasing colours, that the reader cannot be displeased with a transcript of it. "I am desirous of characterising a little unto "you such part of his nature, customes, and abilities, as I had "occasion to know by sight or by inquiry. He was one of the "humblest things that could be seen within the bounds of "humanity; the very pattern of that precept '*Quantò doctior*

"*tantò*

gentio [a], men of his acquaintance when he travelled Italy, and of great note in that nation for their remarkable learning.—To his ancient friend, Dr. Brook (that married him) Master of Trinity College

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"*tantò submissior*,' and enough alone to demonstrate, that "knowledge well digested *non inflat*. Excellent in positive, "excellent in scholastical and polemical Divinity; a rare mathe-"matician, even in the most abstruse parts thereof, as in Algebra "and the Theoriques; and yet withal so expert in the history of "plants, as if he had never perused any book but Nature. "Lastly, a great Canonist, which was the title of his ordinary "service with the state; and certainly in the time of the Pope's "interdict they had their principal light from him. When he "was either reading or writing alone, his manner was to sit "fenced with a castle of paper about his chair and over head; "for he was of our Lord of St. Alban's thinking, '*That all air* "*is prædatory*,' and especially hurtful when the spirits are most "employed. He was of a quiet and settled temper, which made "him prompt in his counsels and answers, and the same in con-"sultation which Themistocles was in action ἀστοχρήματος "ἀκμιότατος."

[a] The friend and biographer of Father Paul, and celebrated for the dignity and freedom with which he preached the pure word of God. Of the real excellence of his discourses, no better testimony can be adduced than the declaration of Pope Paul V. "He has indeed some good sermons, but bad ones "withal: He stands too much upon Scripture, which is a book "that if any man will keep close to, he will quite ruin the "Catholic Faith." (*Father Paul's Letters, Let. XXVI.*) Induced by some specious promises of the Pope's Nuncio to leave Venice, and under a safe conduct to go to Rome, he at first met with a kind reception, but was afterwards burnt in the Field of Flora.—(*Fuller's Church Hist. Cent. XVII. B. X. p. 98.*)

in Cambridge, he gave the picture of the blessed Virgin and Joseph.—To Dr. Winniff (who succeeded him in his Deanery) he gave a picture called the "Skeleton."—To the succeeding Dean, who was not then known, he gave many necessaries of worth, and useful for his house; and also several pictures and ornaments for the chapel, with a desire that they might be registered, and remain as a legacy to his successors.—To the Earls of Dorset and Carlisle, he gave several pictures, and so he did to many other friends; legacies, given rather to express his affection than to make any addition to their estates: But unto the poor he was full of charity, and unto many others, who, by his constant and long-continued bounty, might entitle themselves to be his alms-people; for all these he made provision, and so largely, as, having then six children living, might to some appear more than proportionable to his estate. I forbear to mention any more, lest the reader may think I trespass upon his patience; but I will beg his favour to present him with the beginning and end of his will.

IN the name of the blessed and glorious Trinity, Amen. I John Donne, *by the mercy of Christ Jesus, and by the calling of the Church of England, Priest, being at this time in good health and perfect understanding (praised be God therefore) do hereby make my last Will and Testament, in the manner and form following:*

First, I give my gracious God an entire sacrifice of body and soul, with my most humble thanks for that assurance which his Blessed Spirit imprints in me now of the salvation of the one, and the resurrection of the other; and for that constant and cheerful resolution which the same Spirit hath established in me to live and die in the religion now professed in the Church of England. In expectation of that resurrection, I desire my body may be buried in the most private manner that may be; in that place of St. Paul's Church, London, that the now Residentiaries have at my request designed for that purpose, &c.——And this my last Will and Testament, made in the fear of God, (whose mercy I humbly beg, and constantly rely upon in Jesus Christ), and in perfect love and charity with all the world (whose pardon I ask, from the lowest of my servants, to the highest of my superiors), written all with my own hand, and my name subscribed to every page, of which there are five in number.

Sealed Decemb. 13, 1630.

Nor was this blessed sacrifice of charity expressed only at his death, but in his life also, by a cheerful and frequent visitation of any friend whose mind was dejected, or his fortune necessitous; he was inquisitive after the wants of prisoners, and redeemed many from prison that lay for their fees or small debts; he was a continual giver to poor scholars, both of this and

foreign nations. Besides what he gave with his own hand, he usually sent a servant, or a discreet and trusty friend, to distribute his charity to all the prisons in London, at all the festival times of the year, especially at the birth and resurrection of our Saviour. He gave a hundred pounds at one time to an old friend, whom he had known live plentifully, and by a too liberal heart and carelessness, became decayed in his estate; and when the receiving of it was denied, by the gentleman saying, "He wanted not;"—for the reader may note, that as there be some spirits so generous as to labour to conceal and endure a sad poverty rather than expose themselves to those blushes that attend the confession of it, so there be others to whom nature and grace have afforded such sweet and compassionate souls, as to pity and prevent the distresses of mankind, which I have mentioned because of Dr. Donne's reply, whose answer was,—"I know "you want not what will sustain nature, for a "little will do that; but my desire is, that you, "who in the days of your plenty have cheered "and raised the hearts of so many of your "dejected friends, would now receive this from "me, and use it as a cordial for the cheering of "your own:" And upon these terms it was received. He was a happy reconciler of many differences in the families of his friends and kindred (which he never undertook faintly, for such undertakings have usually faint effects), and

they had such a faith in his judgment and impartiality, that he never advised them to any thing in vain. He was, even to her death, a most dutiful son to his mother, careful to provide for her supportation, of which she had been destitute, but that God raised him up to prevent her necessities, who having sucked in the religion of the Roman Church with her mother's milk, spent her estate in foreign countries, to enjoy a liberty in it, and died in his house but three months before him.

And to the end it may appear how just a steward he was of his Lord and Master's revenue, I have thought fit to let the reader know, that after his entrance into his Deanery, as he numbered his years, he (at the foot of a private account, to which God and his angels were only witnesses with him), computed first his revenue, then what was given to the poor and other pious uses; and lastly, what rested for him and his; and, having done that, he then blessed each year's poor remainder with a thankful prayer: which, for that they discover a more than common devotion, the reader shall partake some of them in his own words:

"So all is that remains this year——

"Deo Opt. Max. benigno
"Largitori, à me, et ab iis
"Quibus hæc à me reservantur,
"Gloria et gratia in æternum.
"Amen."

"So that this year God hath blessed me and mine with——

"Multiplicatæ sunt super
"Nos misericordiæ tuæ,
"Domine.....

"Da, Domine, ut quæ ex immensâ
"Bonitate tuâ nobis elargiri
"Dignatus sis, in quorumcunque
"Manus devenerint, in tuam
"Semper cedant gloriam.
"Amen."

"In fine horum sex annorum manet——

"Quid habeo quod non accepi à Domino?
"Largitur etiam ut quæ largitus est
"Sua iterum fiant, bono eorum usu; ut
"Quemadmodum nec officiis hujus mundi,
"Nec loci in quo me posuit dignitati, nec
"Servis, nec egenis, in toto hujus anni
"Curriculo mihi conscius sum me defuisse;
"Ita et liberi, quibus quæ supersunt,
"Supersunt, grato animo ea accipiant,
"Et beneficum authorem recognoscant.
"Amen."

But I return from my long digression.——We left the author sick in Essex, where he was forced to spend much of that winter, by reason of his disability to remove from that place; and having never for almost twenty years omitted his personal attendance on his Majesty in that month in which he was to attend and preach to him, nor having ever been left out of the roll and number of Lent preachers, and there being then

(in January 1630) a report brought to London, or raised there, that Dr. Donne was dead, that report gave him occasion to write the following letter to a dear friend:

"SIR,—This advantage you and my other friends "have by my frequent fevers, that I am so much "the oftener at the gates of heaven; and this "advantage by the solitude and close imprison-"ment that they reduce me to after, that I am "so much the oftener at my prayers, in which "I shall never leave out your happiness, and I "doubt not among his other blessings, God will "add some one to you for my prayers. A man "would almost be content to die, if there were "no other benefit in death, to hear of so much "sorrow and so much good testimony from good "men as I (God be blessed for it) did upon the "report of my death; yet I perceive it went "not through all, for one writ to me that some "(and he said of my friends) conceived I was "not so ill as I pretended, but withdrew myself "to live at ease, discharged of preaching. It is "an unfriendly, and, God knows, an ill-grounded "interpretation; for I have always been sorryer "when I could not preach, than any could be "that could not hear me. It hath been my "desire, and God may be pleased to grant it, "that I might die in the pulpit; if not that, "yet that I might take my death in the pulpit; "that is, die the sooner by occasion of those "labours. Sir, I hope to see you presently after

"Candlemas, about which time will fall my Lent-
"sermon at court, except my Lord Chamberlain
"believe me to be dead, and so leave me out
"of the roll; but as long as I live, and am not
"speechless, I would not willingly decline that
"service. I have better leisure to write than
"you to read, yet I would not willingly oppress
"you with too much letter. God so bless you
"and your son, as I wish to

"Your poor friend,

"And servant in Christ Jesus,

"J. DONNE."

Before that month ended he was appointed to preach upon his old constant day, the first Friday in Lent: he had notice of it, and had in his sickness so prepared for that employment, that as he had long thirsted for it, so he resolved his weakness should not hinder his journey; he came therefore to London some few days before his appointed day of preaching. At his coming thither, many of his friends (who with sorrow saw his sickness had left him but so much flesh as did only cover his bones) doubted his strength to perform that task, and did therefore dissuade him from it, assuring him, however, it was likely to shorten his life; but he passionately denied their requests, saying, "He would not doubt that that God, who "in so many weaknesses had assisted him with an "unexpected strength, would now withdraw it in "his last employment, professing an holy ambition

"to perform that sacred work." And when, to the amazement of some beholders, he appeared in the pulpit, many of them thought he presented himself not to preach mortification by a living voice, but mortality by a decayed body and a dying face. And doubtless many did secretly ask that question in Ezekiel, (chap. xxxvii. 3.) "Do "these bones live? or, can that soul organize that "tongue to speak so long time as the sand in that "glass[b] will move towards its centre, and measure "out an hour of this dying man's unspent life? "Doubtless it cannot:" And yet, after some faint

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[b] The reader will recollect the custom which then prevailed, of regulating the time of preaching by the hour-glass, which was usually placed at the right-hand of the preacher. In allusion to this custom, a preacher at Cambridge calls himself "A watchman for an hour in the towre of the University." (*Fuller's Univ. of Cambridge, p.* 159.)——Dr. Donne thus begins his discourse on 1 *Tim.* iii. 16.—"This is no text for an "hour-glass: If God would afford me Hezekiah's sign, *ut* "*revertatur umbra*, that the shadow might go backward upon "the dial, or Joshua's sign, *ut sistat Sol*, that the sun might "stand still all the day, this were text enough to employ all the "day, and all the days of our life." Again, on *Ps.* xxxii. 6.— "You would not be weary of reading a long conveyance, in "which the land were given to yourselves; nor of a long will, "in which the body of the State were bequeathed to you. Be "not weary, if at any time your patience be exercised some "minutes *beyond the threescore*, some time *beyond the hour*, in "these exercises; for we exhibit conveyance, in which the land, "the land of promise is made yours, and the testament, in which "the testator himself is bequeathed to you."——"In the "account of churchwardens of St. Helen's, in Abingdon, "Berks,

pauses in his zealous prayer, his strong desires enabled his weak body to discharge his memory of his preconceived meditations, which were of dying; the text being, "To God the Lord belong "the issues from death." Many that then saw his tears, and heard his faint and hollow voice, professing they thought the text prophetically chosen, and that Dr. Donne *had preached his own funeral sermon*[c].

Being full of joy that God had enabled him to perform this desired duty, he hastened to his house, out of which he never moved, till, like St.

"Berks, IVd. was paid for an hour-glass for the pulpit, 1591. "*Archæolog. vol. I. p.* 22. There is scarcely perhaps an earlier "mention of this implement. It was used at Paul's Cross in "1616; for in a painting of that and the church of that date, "now in the library of the Society of Antiquarians of London, "I observed an hour-glass near the preacher; and the custom "continued till after the Restoration; for a very fine one which "cost XVIII shillings, was brought from Holland to Lynn in "Norfolk. *Bloomfield's History, vol. IV. p.* 131. The iron "frames in which they stood are sometimes still seen near "pulpits."—(*Sir John Cullum's Hist. and Antiq. of Hansted, p.* 84.)——It appears from the accounts of modern travellers, that in some of the Protestant churches in Switzerland the hour-glass is still retained to direct the length of the preacher's discourse. *See Gray's Letters during the Course of a Tour through Germany, p.* 131.

[c] This discourse was printed at London in 1633, in 4to, under the quaint title of "Death's Duel, or a Consolation to the Soule against the Dying Life and Living Death of the Body." The text is from *Ps.* lxviii. 20. It is the last discourse in the third volume of Dr. Donne's Sermons.

Stephen, "he was carried by devout men to his grave."

The next day after his sermon, his strength being much wasted, and his spirits so spent as indisposed him to business or to talk, a friend that had often been a witness of his free and facetious discourse, asked, "Why are you sad?" To whom he replied, with a countenance so full of cheerful gravity, as gave testimony of an inward tranquillity of mind, and of a soul willing to take a farewell of this world; and said——

"I am not sad, but most of the night past I "have entertained myself with many thoughts of "several friends that have left me here, *and are* "*gone to that place from which they shall not* "*return*; and that within a few days *I shall go* "*hence and be no more seen*. And my prepara- "tion for this change is become my nightly medi- "tation upon my bed, which my infirmities have "now made restless to me: But at this present "time I was in a serious contemplation of the "providence and goodness of God to me; to me, "*who am less than the least of his mercies*; and "looking back upon my life past, I now plainly "see it was his hand that prevented me from all "temporal employment, and that it was his will I "should never settle or thrive till I entered into "the ministry; in which I have now lived almost "twenty years (I hope to his glory), and by which "I most humbly thank him, I have been enabled "to requite most of those friends who showed me

" kindness when my fortune was very low, as God " knows it was, and (as it hath occasioned the " expression of my gratitude) I thank God most " of them have stood in need of my requital. I " have lived to be useful and comfortable to my " good father-in-law, Sir George Moor, whose " patience God hath been pleased to exercise with " many temporal crosses; I have maintained my " own mother, whom it hath pleased God, after a " plentiful fortune in her younger days, to bring " to a great decay in her very old age. I have " quieted the consciences of many that have " groaned under the burthen of a wounded spirit, " whose prayers I hope are available for me. I " cannot plead innocency of life, especially of my " youth; but I am to be judged by a merciful " God, *who is not willing to see what I have done* " *amiss:* And though of myself I have nothing " to present to him but sins and misery, yet I " know he looks not upon me now as I am of " myself, but as I am in my Saviour, and hath " given me even at this present time some testi- " monies by his Holy Spirit, that I am of the " number of his elect: *I am therefore full of* " *inexpressible joy, and shall die in peace.*"

I must here look so far back as to tell the reader, that at his first return out of Essex, to preach his last sermon, his old friend and physician, Dr. Fox, a man of great worth, came to him to consult his health, and after a sight of him, and some queries concerning his distempers, he told

him, "That by cordials, and drinking milk twenty "days together, there was a probability of his "restoration to health." But he passionately denied to drink it. Nevertheless, Dr. Fox, who loved him most entirely, wearied him with solicitations, till he yielded to take it for ten days, at the end of which time he told Dr. Fox, "He "had drunk it more to satisfy him, than to recover "his health; and that he would not drink it ten "days longer upon the best moral assurance of "having twenty years added to his life, for he "loved it not, and was so far from fearing death, "which to others was the King of Terrors, that "he longed for the day of his dissolution[d]."

It is observed, that a desire of glory or commendation is rooted in the very nature of man; and that those of the severest and most mortified lives, though they may become so humble as to banish self-flattery, and such weeds as naturally grow there; yet they have not been able to kill this desire of glory, but that, like our radical heat,

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[d] Dr. Donne seems to have entertained an indifference to and an alienation from every secular pursuit. In the various scenes of his maturer life, he has his attention principally fixed upon another and a better state. His desires and affections being mortified and entirely subdued, he familiarizes to his thoughts the idea of death. Hence he expresses not merely an acquiescence in the dispensations of God calling him away from this world, but even an unwillingness to live; and by that very extraordinary mode of representation, which his biographer has recorded, he reconciles and endears to himself the approaching moment of his dissolution. But such a conduct will not be pursued

it will both live and die with us, and many think it should do so; and we want not sacred examples to justify the desire of having our memory to outlive our lives, which I mention because Dr. Donne, by the persuasion of Dr. Fox, easily yielded at this very time to have a monument made for him; but Dr. Fox undertook not to persuade him how or what monument it should be; that was left to Dr. Donne himself.

A monument being resolved upon, Dr. Donne sent for a carver to make for him in wood the figure of an urn, giving him directions for the compass and height of it; and to bring with it a board of the just height of his body. These being got; then, without delay, a choice painter was got to be in readiness to draw his picture, which was taken as followeth.——Several charcoal-fires being first made in his large study, he brought with him into that place his winding-sheet in his hand; and having put off all his clothes, had this sheet put on him, and so tied with knots at his

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pursued by the generality of mankind. We are indeed influenced by every religious and moral principle to aspire after length of days and an honourable old age; when we languish on the bed of sickness, to bear the agonies of pain with the consoling hopes of being restored to health, not to reject the probable remedies which medicinal skill proposes for extinguishing disease and protracting life. This disposition, joined with a cheerful and ready consignment of our state to the will of God, and a just sense of the small value of all earthly enjoyments, is surely not unworthy of the Christian character.

head and feet. and his hands so placed as dead bodies are usually fitted to be shrowded and put into their coffin or grave. Upon this urn he thus stood, with his eyes shut, and with so much of the sheet turned aside, as might show his lean, pale, and death-like face, which was purposely turned toward the east, from whence he expected the second coming of his and our Saviour Jesus. In this posture he was drawn at his just height; and when the picture was fully finished, he caused it to be set by his bed-side, here it continued, and became his hourly object till his death, and was then given to his dearest friend and executor, Doctor Henry King, then chief Residentiary of St. Paul's, who caused him to be thus carved in one entire piece of white marble [e], as it now stands

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[e] "In 1631 I made a tombe for Dr. Donne, and sette it up in "St. Paul's, London, for which I was paid by Dr. Mountford "the sum of £120. I took £60 in plate, in part of payment." *(From a Copy of the Pocket-Book of Nicholas Stone.)*—— "1631, Humphrey Mayor, a workman employed under Stone, "finisht the statue for Dr. Donne's monument, £8:0:0." *(Ibid.)*

On the south-side of the Choir of St. Paul's Cathedral, stood a white marble monument, with the figure of Dr. Donne, in his shroud, standing erect, his feet in an urn, and placed in a niche. Speed calls it "A White Marble Statue on an Urn." Above are the arms of the Deanery, impaled with his own, viz. a WOLF *saliant*. The concluding lines of the inscription evidently allude to his posture. "He was looking toward the east, from "whence he expected his Saviour." The critical reader will remember, that in *Zech.* vi. 12. the passage alluded to, should be

rendered

in that church; and by Dr. Donne's own appointment, these words were to be affixed to it as his epitaph:——

JOHANNES DONNE,
SAC. THEOL. PROFESS.
POST VARIA STUDIA QUIBUS AB ANNIS TENERRIMIS
FIDELITER, NEC INFELICITER INCUBUIT;
INSTINCTU ET IMPULSU SP. SANCTI, MONITU
ET HORTATU
REGIS JACOBI, ORDINES SACROS AMPLEXUS
ANNO SUI JESU, MDCXIV. ET SUÆ ÆTATIS XLII.
DECANATU HUJUS ECCLESIÆ INDUTUS
XXVII NOVEMBRIS, MDCXXI.
EXUTUS MORTE ULTIMO DIE MARTII MDCXXXI.
HIC LICET IN OCCIDUO CINERE ASPICIT EUM
CUJUS NOMEN EST ORIENS.

And now having brought him through the many labyrinths and perplexities of a various life, even to the gates of death and the grave, my desire is, he may rest till I have told my reader, that I have seen many pictures of him, in several habits, and at several ages, and in several postures: And I now mention this, because I

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rendered "Behold the Man, whose name is the BRANCH," which the Seventy-Two translate Ἀνατολὴ ὄνομα αὐτῷ,—and the Vulgate "Oriens nomen ejus."

Of the portraiture of Sir William Weston, Lord Prior of the Hospitallers lying dead in his shroud, *the most* artificially cut in stone that ever man beheld, see *Fuller's Holy War*, p. 240.

have seen one picture of him, drawn by a curious hand at his age of eighteen, with his sword and what other adornments might then suit with the present fashions of youth, and the giddy gayeties of that age; and his motto then was——

> "How much shall I be chang'd,
> "Before I am chang'd [f]!"

And if that young, and his now dying picture, were at this time set together, every beholder might say, "Lord! how much is Dr. Donne "already changed, before he is changed?" And the view of them might give my reader occasion to ask himself with some amazement, "Lord! "how much may I also that am now in health be "changed, before I am changed; before this vile, "this changeable body shall put off mortality?" and therefore to prepare for it. But this is not

[f] "Antes muerta que mudada." The words *antes muerta que mudada* are supposed by a Spanish author to have been originally written on the sand by a lady promising fidelity to her lover. The following lines were composed by Mr. Isaac Walton, and inscribed under the print taken from this picture, and prefixed to an edition of Dr. Donne's Poems in 1639.

> "This was for youth, strength, mirth, and wit, that time
> "Most count their golden age, but was not thine.
> "Thine was thy later years, so much refin'd
> "From youth's dross, mirth and wit, as thy pure mind
> "Thought (like the angels) nothing but the praise
> "Of thy Creator, in those last best days.
> "Witness this book thy emblem, which begins
> "With love, but ends with sighs and tears for sins."

writ so much for my reader's memento, as to tell him, that Dr. Donne would often in his private discourses, and often publicly in his sermons, mention the many changes both of his body and mind; especially of his mind from a vertiginous giddiness; and would as often say, "His great and most "blessed change was from a temporal to a spiritual "employment;" in which he was so happy, that he accounted the former part of his life to be lost, and the beginning of it to be from his first entering into sacred orders, and serving his most merciful God at his altar.

Upon Monday, after the drawing this picture, he took his last leave of his beloved study; and being sensible of his hourly decay, retired himself to his bed-chamber, and that week sent at several times for many of his most considerable friends, with whom he took a solemn and deliberate farewell, commending to their considerations some sentences useful for the regulation of their lives, and then dismissed them, as good Jacob did his sons, with a spiritual benediction. The Sunday following, he appointed his servants, that if there were any business yet undone that concerned him or themselves, it should be prepared against Saturday next: for after that day he would not mix his thoughts with any thing that concerned this world; nor ever did;—but, as Job, so he "waited for the appointed day of his dissolution."

And now he was so happy as to have nothing to do but to die; to do which, he stood in need of

no longer time; for he had studied it long, and to so happy a perfection, that in a former sickness he called God to witness (in his Book of Devotions written then) "He was that minute ready to de-"liver his soul into his hands, if that minute God "would determine his dissolution." In that sickness he begged of God the constancy to be preserved in that estate for ever: And his patient expectation to have his immortal soul disrobed from her garment of mortality, makes me confident, that he now had a modest assurance that his prayers were then heard, and his petition granted. He lay fifteen days earnestly expecting his hourly change, and in the last hour of his last day, as his body melted away and vapoured into spirit, his soul having, I verily believe, some revelation of the Beatifical Vision, he said, "I "were miserable if I might not die," and after those words closed many periods of his faint breath by saying often, "Thy kingdom come, thy will be "done." His speech, which had long been his ready and faithful servant, left him not till the last minute of his life, and then forsook him, not to serve another master (for who speaks like him?), but died before him, for that it was then become useless to him that now conversed with God on earth, as angels are said to do in heaven, *only by thoughts and looks*. Being speechless, and seeing heaven by that illumination by which he saw it, he did as St. Stephen, "Look steadfastly into it, till he "saw the Son of Man, standing at the right-hand

"of God his father;" and being satisfied with this blessed sight, as his soul ascended, and his last breath departed from him, he closed his own eyes, and then disposed his hands and body into such a posture as required not the least alteration by those that came to shroud him.

Thus VARIABLE, thus VIRTUOUS was the life; thus EXCELLENT, thus EXEMPLARY was the death of this memorable man.

He was buried in that place of St. Paul's Church, which he had appointed for that use some years before his death, and by which he passed daily to pay his public devotions to Almighty God (who was then served twice a day by a public form of prayer and praises in that place); but he was not buried privately, though he desired it; for, beside an unnumbered number of others, many persons of nobility, and of eminency for learning, who did love and honour him in his life, did show it at his death, by a voluntary and sad attendance of his body to the grave, where nothing was so remarkable as a public sorrow.

To which place of his burial some mournful friend repaired, and, as Alexander the Great[s] did to the grave of the famous Achilles, so they strewed

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s When Alexander crossed the Hellespont, to visit the ruins of Ilium, he sacrificed to the heroes buried in the neighbourhood, especially to Achilles. Hephestion, as a mark of his friendship to Alexander, crowned the tomb of Patroclus with flowers. *(Ant. Un. Hist. Vol. VIII. p. 507.)*

his with an abundance of curious and costly flowers[h]; which course they (who were never yet known) continued morning and evening for many days, not ceasing till the stones that were taken up in that church to give his body admission into the cold earth (now his bed of rest) were again by the masons art so levelled and firmed, as they had been formerly, and his place of burial undistinguishable to common view.

The next day after his burial, some unknown friend, some one of the many lovers and admirers of his virtue and learning, writ this epitaph with a coal on the wall over his grave:——

> "Reader! I am to let thee know,
> "Donne's body only lies below:
> "For, could the grave his soul comprise,
> "Earth would be richer than the skies."

Nor was this all the honour done to his reverend ashes; for as there be some persons that will not receive a reward for that for which God accounts himself a debtor; persons that dare trust God with their charity, and without a witness; so there was by some grateful unknown friend, that thought Dr. Donne's memory ought to be perpetuated, an

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[h] ....."With fairest flowers
"Whilst summer lasts, and I live here, Fidele,
"I'll sweeten thy sad grave. Thou shalt not lack
"The flower that's like thy face, pale primrose, nor
"The azur'd hare-bell."

SHAKESP. *Cymbeline, A. IV. Sc. 5.*

hundred marks sent to his two faithful friends and executors (Dr. King and Dr. Monfort) towards the making of his monument. It was not for many years known by whom; but, after the death of Dr. Fox, it was known that it was he that sent it: And he lived to see as lively a representation of his dead friend, as marble can express; a statue indeed so like Dr. Donne, that (as his friend, Sir Henry Wotton, had expressed himself) "It "seems to breathe faintly, and posterity shall look "upon it as a kind of artificial miracle."

He was of a stature moderately tall, of a straight and equally-proportioned body, to which all his words and actions gave an unexpressible addition of comeliness.

The melancholy and pleasant humour were in him so contempered, that each gave advantage to the other, and made his company one of the delights of mankind.

His fancy was inimitably high, equalled only by his great wit; both being made useful by a commanding judgment.

His aspect was cheerful, and such as gave a silent testimony of a clear knowing soul, and of a conscience at peace with itself.

His melting eye showed that he had a soft heart, full of compassion; of too brave a soul to offer injuries, and too much a Christian not to pardon them in others.

He did much contemplate (especially after he entered into his sacred calling) the mercies of

Almighty God, the immortality of the soul, and the joys of heaven; and would often say, in a kind of sacred ecstacy, "Blessed be God that he is God, "only and divinely like himself."

He was by nature passionate, but more apt to reluct at the excesses of it. A great lover of the offices of humanity, and of so merciful a spirit, that he never beheld the miseries of mankind without pity and relief.

He was earnest and unwearied in the search of knowledge; with which his vigorous soul is now satisfied, and employed in a continual praise of that God that first breathed it into his active body; that body which once was a temple of the Holy Ghost, and is now become a small quantity of Christian dust:—But I shall see it reanimated.

I. WALTON.

February 15, 1639.

VERSES

TO THE

MEMORY OF DR. J. DONNE.

AN EPITAPH

WRITTEN BY

DOCTOR CORBET[1], LATE BISHOP OF OXFORD,

ON HIS FRIEND, DOCTOR DONNE.

HE that wou'd write an epitaph for thee,
And write it well, must first begin to be
Such as thou wert; for none can truly know
Thy life and worth, but he that hath liv'd so.
He must have wit to spare, and to hurl down;
Enough to keep the gallants of the town.
He must have learning plenty; both the laws,
Civil and common, to judge any cause;
Divinity great store above the rest,
Not of the last edition, but the best.

[1] Dr. RICHARD CORBET, in 1632, translated from the See of Oxford, to that of Norwich, died in 1635. He was in his younger years one of the most celebrated wits in the University of Oxford, afterward admired for his quaint and eloquent preaching, and much commended for his great liberality and munificence, and particularly in promoting the repair of St. Paul's Cathedral.

He must have language, travel, all the arts,
Judgment to use, or else he wants thy parts.
He must have friends the highest, able to do,
Such as Mecœnas, and Augustus too.
He must have such a sickness, such a death,
Or else his vain descriptions come beneath.
He that would write an epitaph for thee
Should first be dead; let it alone for me.

Cathedral. The volume of his Poems, which have great merit, is not common; and therefore several extracts from it are published in the Biographia Britannica.

"If flowing wit, if verses writ with ease,
"If learning, void of pedantry, can please;
"If much good humour, join'd to solid sense,
"And mirth, accompanied with innocence,
"Can give a poet a just right to fame,
"Then CORBET may immortal honour claim:
"For he these virtues had, and in his lines
"Poetic and heroic spirit shines;
"Tho' bright, yet solid, pleasant but not rude,
"With wit and wisdom equally endu'd.
"Be silent, Muse, thy praises are too faint,
"Thou want'st a power this prodigy to paint,
"At once a poet, prelate, and a saint. J. C.

(*Biog. Brit. in the Article* CORBET.)

TO THE MEMORY OF

MY EVER DESIRED DOCTOR DONNE.

AN ELEGY,

BY H. KING, LATE BISHOP OF CHICHESTER.

TO have liv'd eminent, in a degree
Beyond our loftiest thoughts, that is like thee;
Or t'have had too much merit is not safe,
For such excesses find no epitaph.

At common graves we have poetic eyes,
Can melt themselves in easy elegies;
Each quill can drop his tributary verse,
And pin it, like the hatchments, to the hearse:
But at thine, poem or inscription
(Rich soul of wit and language) we have none.
Indeed a silence does that tomb befit,
Where is no herald left to blazon it.
Widow'd Invention justly doth forbear
To come abroad, knowing thou art not there:
Late her great patron, whose prerogative
Maintain'd and cloth'd her so, as none alive
Must now presume to keep her at thy rate,
Though he the Indies for her dower estate.
Or else that awful fire which once did burn
In thy clear brain, now fallen into thy urn,
Lives there to fright rude empirics from thence,
Which might profane thee by their ignorance.
Whoever writes of thee, and in a style
Unworthy such a theme, does but revile
Thy precious dust, and wakes a learned spirit,
Which may revenge his rapes upon thy merit.

For all a low-pitch'd fancy can devise
Will prove at best but hallowed injuries.
Thou, like the dying swan, didst lately sing
Thy mournful dirge in audience of the King;
When pale looks and faint accents of thy breath
Presented so to life that piece of death,
That it was fear'd and prophesy'd by all
Thou thither cam'st to preach thy funeral.
Oh! hadst thou in an elegiac knell
Rung out unto the world thine own farewell,
And in thy high victorious numbers beat
The solemn measures of thy griev'd retreat,
Thou might'st the poet's service now have mist,
As well as then thou didst prevent the priest:
And never to the world beholden be,
So much as for an epitaph for thee.

I do not like the office: nor is't fit
Thou, who did'st lend our age such sums of wit,
Shouldst now reborrow from her bankrupt mine
That oar to bury thee which first was thine;
Rather still leave us in thy debt:—and know,
Exalted soul! more glory 'tis to owe
Thy memory, what we can never pay,
Than with embased coin those rites defray.

Commit we then thee to thyself, nor blame
Our drooping loves, that thus to thine own fame
Leave thee executor, since but thine own
No pen could do thee justice, nor bays crown
Thy vast deserts; save that we nothing can
Depute to be thy ashes' guardian.

So jewellers no art or metal trust
To form the diamond, but the diamond's dust.

H. K.

AN ELEGY ON DOCTOR DONNE.

OUR Donne is dead! and we may sighing say,
We had that man where Language chose to stay
And show her utmost power. I would not praise
That and his great wit, which in our vain days
Make others proud; but as these serv'd to unlock
That cabinet, his mind, where such a stock
Of knowledge was repos'd, that I lament
Our just and general cause of discontent.

And I rejoice I am not so severe,
But as I write a line, to weep a tear
For his decease: Such sad extremities
Can make such men as I write elegies.

And wonder not; for when so great a loss
Falls on a nation, and they slight the cross,
God hath rais'd prophets to awaken them
From their dull lethargy; witness my pen,
Not us'd to upbraid the world, though now it must
Freely and boldly, for the cause is just.

Dull age! oh, I would spare thee, but thou'rt worse:
Thou art not only dull, but hast a curse
Of black ingratitude: If not, couldst thou
Part with this matchless man, and make no vow
For thee and thine successively to pay
Some sad remembrance to his dying day?

Did his youth scatter poetry, wherein
Lay love's philosophy? Was every sin
Pictur'd in his sharp satires, made so foul
That some have fear'd Sin's shapes, and kept their soul

Safer by reading verse? Did he give days,
Past marble monuments, to those whose praise
He wou'd perpetuate? Did he (I fear
Envy will doubt) these at his twentieth year?

But, more matur'd; did his rich soul conceive,
And in harmonious holy numbers weave
A crown of sacred sonnets[k], fit t'adorn
A dying martyr's brow, or to be worn
On that bless'd head of Mary Magdalen,
After she wip'd Christ's feet, but not till then?
Did he (fit for such penitents as she
And he to use) leave us a Letanie[l]
Which all devout men love, and doubtless shall,
As times grow better, grow more classical?
Did he write hymns, for piety and wit,
Equal to those great grave Prudentius writ?

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[k] "La Corona," a poem, written by Dr. Donne, and consisting of seven holy sonnets, the first line of each sonnet beginning with the last line of the preceding one, the poem beginning and ending with the same line—namely

"Deigne at my hands this crown of prayer and praise."

The subjects are—Annunciation—Nativitie—Temple-crucifying—Resurrection—Ascention.

[l] A poem so called, written by Donne, who, in a letter to his friend, Sir Henry Goodyere, gives this account of it. "Since my imprisonment in my "bed I have made a meditation in verse, which I call a Litany: The word, "you know, imports no other than supplication; but all churches have one "form of supplication by that name. Amongst ancient annals, I mean "some 800 years, I have met two Letanies in Latin verse, which gave me "not the reason of my meditations; for in good faith I thought not upon "them, but they give me a defence, if any man to a Layman and a Private "impute it as a fault to take such divine and publique names to his own "little thoughts." (*Letters, &c. p.* 38.)

Spake he all languages? Knew he all laws?
The grounds and use of physic—but, because
'Twas mercenary, wav'd it? went to see
That happy place of Christ's nativity[m]?
Did he return and preach him? preach him so,
As, since St. Paul, none ever did? they know——
Those happy souls that hear'd him know this truth.
Did he confirm thy ag'd, convert thy youth?
Did he these wonders? and is his dear loss
Mourn'd by so few?—few for so great a cross.

But sure the silent are ambitious all
To be close mourners at his funeral.
If not; in common pity they forbear,
By repetitions, to renew our care:
Or knowing grief conceiv'd and hid, consumes
Man's life insensibly (as poison's fumes
Corrupt the brain), take silence for the way
T'enlarge the soul from these walls, mud and clay,
(Materials of this body) to remain
With him in heaven, where no promiscuous pain
Lessens those joys we have; for with him all
Are satisfy'd with joys essential.

Dwell on these joys, my thoughts!—Oh! do not call
Grief back, by thinking on his funeral.
Forget he lov'd me: Waste not my swift years
Which haste to David's seventy, fill'd with fears
And sorrows for his death: Forget his parts,
They find a living grave in good men's hearts:
And, for my first is daily paid for sin,
Forget to pay my second sigh for him:

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[m] But it appears from the preceding pages, that his intentions of visiting the Holy Land were frustrated.

Forget his powerful preaching; and forget
I am his convert. Oh my frailty! let
My flesh be no more heard; it will obtrude
This lethargy: So should my gratitude,
My vows of gratitude should be so broke,
Which can no more be, than his virtues, spoke
By any but himself: For which cause I
Write no encomiums, but this elegy;
Which, as a free-will offering, I here give
Fame and the world; and, parting with it, grieve
I want abilities fit to set forth
A monument as matchless as his worth.

IZ. WA.

APRIL 7, 1631.

APPENDIX.

THE WORKS OF DOCTOR JOHN DONNE,

DEAN OF ST. PAUL'S, LONDON.

I. " PSEUDO-MARTYR; wherein out of certaine Propositions and Gradations this Conclusion is evicted, that those which are of the Romane Religion in this Kingdome, may and ought to take the Oath of Allegeance." *London*, 1610, quarto.

II. " DEVOTIONS upon EMERGENT OCCASIONS, and several STEPS in my SICKNESS; digested into—1. Meditations upon our humane Condition.—2. Expostulations and Debatements with God.—3. Prayers upon several Occasions to him." *London*, 1624, 12mo.

This book is dedicated to Prince Charles. The subjects of the different devotions are expressed in twenty-two hexameter verses prefixed to the work.

" Stationes sive periodi in morbo, ad quas referuntur meditationes sequentes.

1. Insultus morbi primus. 2. Pòst actio læsa.
3. Decubitus sequitur tandem. 4. Medicusque vocatur.
5. Solus adest. 6. Metuit. 7. Socius sibi jungier instat," &c.

A fourth edition of this work appeared in 1634.

III. " The ANTIENT HISTORY of the SEPTUAGINT; written in Greeke by Aristeus 1900 Yeares since. Of his Voyage to Hierusalem, as Ambassador from

Ptolomeus Philadelphus unto Eleazer then Pontiffe of the Jews. Concerning the first Translation of the Bible by the 72 Interpreters; with many other remarkable Circumstances. Newly done into English by J. DONNE." *London*, 1633, 8vo, or 16mo.

"N. B. There are added Proofes concerning this History, and a short Discourse of the Antiquity and Dignity of the Sacred Bookes, and Excellency of their Inspired Writer the Prophet Moses."

A new edition of this version, said to be very much corrected from the original, was published in 1685, 12mo.

IV. "JUVENILIA, or certaine Paradoxes and Problems." *London*, 1633, quarto.

V. "POEMS by J. D. with ELEGIES on the AUTHOR'S DEATH."—1633, quarto. The same in 1635, 8vo or 16mo; and again in 1654, 8vo or 16mo. The last edition contains a dedication to Lord Craven, by Dr. John Donne, the son, and a copy of verses to Dr. Donne, by B. JON. i. e. Ben Jonson. Prefixed to the volume is a print of the Author in a suit of armour, with eight verses under it, by Izaak Walton. There is another edition of the poems in 1669, 8vo.

VI. "LXXX SERMONS," 1640, folio, with a print of the Author, æt. 42, M. Merian, jun. sc. With a Dedication to King Charles, and Izaak Walton's Life of Dr. Donne.

VII. "L SERMONS; the Second Volume," 1649, folio.—This volume contains two dedications; the first "To Basil, Earl of Denby;" and the second "To Bolstred Whitlock, Richard Keeble, and John Leile, Lords Commissioners of the Great Seale."

VIII. "XXVI SERMONS; the third Volume," 1661.—With a dedication "To King Charles II."

Many of the sermons in the preceding volumes were printed separately at different times.

IX. "LETTERS to several Persons of Honour. Published by John Donne, Doctor of the Civill Law." *London*, 1654, 4to; and dedicated by him "To the most virtuous and excellent Lady Mris. Bridget Duncb."

X. "ESSAYS in DIVINITY, &c. being several Disquisitions interwoven with Meditations and Prayers." 1651, 12mo. Written by him before he went into holy orders.

XI. "PARADOXES, PROBLEMS, ESSAYS, CHARACTERS, &c. To which is added, a Book of Epigrams, written in Latin by the same Author, translated into English by J. Mayne, D. D. As also Ignatius his Conclave, a Satyr, translated out of the original Copy written in Latin by the same Author; found lately amongst his own Papers." *London*, 1653, 12mo.

Several parts of this volume were printed before under different titles.

Of the tract "Ignatius his Conclave," it must be observed, that it was originally written in Latin with this title; "Conclave Ignatii, sive ejus in nuperis inferni comitiis Inthronisatio: ubi varia de Jesuitarum indole, de novo inferno creando, de ecclesiâ lunaticâ instituendâ per Satyram congesta sunt. Accessit et Apologia pro Jesuitis."

This little volume is printed without the name of the author or printer, and without any intimation of time or place. It contains many severe and ironical invectives against Ignatius Loyola, who founded the order of the

Jesuits in 1540. The author describes himself in a vision. "Eram in extasi, et

"Animula vagula blandula
"Comes hospesque corporis

"per omnia liberè vagata est, omnes cœlorum contig-
"nationes numerabat et volumina: omnes insularum
"natantium omniumque in firmamento hærentium situs,
"dimensiones, naturas, populos, etiam et politeias com-
"plexa est."—He proceeds; "Ictu oculi etiam et inferos
"video in conspectu meo positos."—"Ad penitiora pro-
"gressus vidi locum secretiorem ipsique Lucifero ferè
"proprium, ad quem ineundum iis tantùm jus erat qui
"ita aliquid novi in vitâ moliti fuerant, ut antiquitati
"barbam vellerent, et dubia et anxietates scrupulosque
"injicerent, et post invectam quidvis opinandi licentiam
"tandem prorsus contraria iis quæ antè statuta fuerant
"statuerent."

Many candidates claim an admission into the infernal regions, as Copernicus, Paracelsus, Machiavel, &c. To them Ignatius Loyola is preferred: Lucifer entertains him as a bosom friend and counsellor, and proposes to him the acquisition of a territory in the moon. "Illuc
"Jesuitæ omnes transfretabunt, ecclesiamque lunaticam
"Romanæ conciliabunt."

In the mean time it is publicly announced that the Pope is prevailed upon to canonize Ignatius: "Iniquum
"enim esse, cùm omnes artifices laniique prophani
"peculiares quos invocarent divos haberent, solis lanius
"spiritualibus et regicidis suus deesset."

Ignatius casting his eyes on the throne next that of Lucifer, asks by whom it is filled. When he hears the name of Boniface, he breaks out into a violent reproach against him, and drives him from his place, in which he

seats himself with the approbation of Lucifer. And here the vision ends.

The tract concludes with a pretended defence of the Jesuits: "Tandem ad apologiam pro Jesuitis accedendum, "id est, de illis silendum. Favet enim illis quisquis de "illis tacet. Nec certe cuiquam diutissimè locuto (etsi "ei Oceanus Clepsydra esset) unquam deerit quod de "eorum flagitiis addere possit."

XII. ΒΙΑΘΑΝΑΤΟΣ. A Declaration of that Paradoxe or Thesis, that Self-homicide is not so naturally Sin, that it may never be otherwise. Wherein the Nature and Extent of all those Lawes, which seem to be violated by this Act, are diligently surveyed." *London*, printed by John Dawson.—4to.

This work was published by the author's son, with a dedication to the Lord Philip Herbert, dated from his house in Covent-Garden, 28; no mention is made of month or year here or in the title-page. At the end of the book we find "20 Sept. 1644, imprimatur Jo. Rushworth."

In the University library at Cambridge are three copies of this book, in two of which are written letters by the editor. One copy, which contains the letter to Mr. Lee, was Bishop Moore's; the other, containing the letter to Mr. Carter, belonged to Mr. Lucas, who founded the Lucasian Professorship at Cambridge.

LETTER I.

"FOR HIS MUCH HONORED FRINDE MR. LEE, AT THE COCKPITT.

"SIR,

"I take the bouldnesse to present to your hands this "booke, hopinge that it may bee welcome to you, even

" for the patrone's sake who has receaved it soe nobly,
" that I cannot doubt but that all his frinds will enter-
" taine it as some thinge that belongs to my Lorde
" Herbert, and has lyen still these fivftie last years to
" expect a patrone noble enough to entertaine a peece
" that is an absolute originall, and, I thincke, drawen by
" noe very ill a hande.

" Sir, your most humble servant,

" JO. DONNE."

COVENT-GARDEN, Oct. 26.

LETTER II.

" FOR THE RIGHT WORSHIPFULL EDWARD CARTER, ESQ.

" SIR,

" I have here sent you a booke that may peradventure
" give you some entertainement out of the noveltie of
" the subject, but that is not all my reason of presentinge
" it to you at this time; for, since I lived in this parish,
" I have published a volume of eighty sermons preached
" by my father; and have prepared sixty more, which
" are licensed and entered in the Printer's Halle; which
" is, as farr as I can drive them, untill the times alter.
" I was encouradged to undertake this worke by the
" learnedest men in the kingdome of all professions, and
" was often told that I should deserve better by doinge
" soe, then by keepinge them to my owne use, for by
" this meanes I did not only preach to the present adge,
" but to our children's children. Sir, I write this to you
" that you may judg what a sad condition a scholler is
" in; when at a public vestry in this parish, I was told
" by a pittifull ignorant baker, I was an idle man, and
" never preached.

" Your humble servant,

" JO. DONNE."

Another edition of the Biathanatos appeared in 1648.

A Satirical Poem, called "A Scourge for Paper Perse-"cutors, by I. D. 1625," 4to, has been attributed to Dr. Donne. It was written by John Davies of Hereford, and is printed in his "Scourge of Folly," 8vo. which is not inserted by Wood among the works of Davies. See "Wood's Ath. Ox." Vol. I. col. 444.

Dr. Donne is esteemed the author of a Latin Epitaph, inscribed on a monument erected in the church of Hansted in Suffolk, to the memory of Mrs. Elizabeth Drury, eldest daughter of Sir Robert Drury, Knight, who died in 1610, in the 15th year of her age. She was the heiress of an immense fortune, and is said to have been destined for the consort of Henry Prince of Wales. The Lines by Dr. Donne, inserted in "The Spectator," No. 41, and affirmed to allude to his mistress, were really written on this lady, the innocent and lovely daughter of his friend. Tradition reports, that she died of a box on the ear, which her father gave her. This conceit rose probably from her being represented on her monument as reclining her head on one hand; just as the story of Lord Russel's daughter dying of a prick of her finger, took its origin from her statue in Westminster Abbey, which represents her as holding down her finger, and pointing to a Death's head at her feet.

In the same church of Hansted, is another monument, with an inscription, supposed to be written by Dr. Donne, commemorating both Sir William Drury, (who, in 1589, was killed in a duel, in France, by Sir John Borough, Knight,) and Sir Robert Drury, Knight, his son, who died in 1615. See "Hist. and Antiq. of Hansted," p. 143.

"A Copy of Verses, by Dr. Donne," is prefixed to "Captain Smith's History of Virginia, 1626." Fol.

family of the Wottons have so long inhabited the one, and now lie buried in the other, as appears by their many monuments in that church [b]: the Wottons being a family that hath brought forth divers persons eminent for wisdom and valour, whose heroic acts and noble employments, both in England and in foreign parts, have adorned themselves and this nation, which they have served abroad faithfully in the discharge of their great trust, and prudently in their negociations with several princes; and also served at home with much honour and justice, in their wise managing a great part of the public affairs thereof in the various times both of war and peace.

But lest I should be thought by any that may incline either to deny or doubt this truth, not to have observed moderation in the commendation of this family; and also for that I believe the merits and memory of such persons ought to be thankfully recorded, I shall offer to the consideration of every reader, out of the testimony of their pedigree and our chronicles, a part, and but a part, of that just commendation which might be from thence enlarged, and shall then leave the indifferent reader to judge whether my error be an excess or defect of commendations [c].

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[b] Of these monuments see "Hasted's History of Kent," vol. II. p. 437;—"Harris's History of Kent," p. 48.

[c] Hollingshed informs us that the family of the Wottons was very ancient, and that "Some persons of that surname for their "singularities

Sir Robert Wotton of Bocton Malherbe, Knight, was born about the year of Christ 1460: He, living in the reign of King Edward IV. was by him trusted to be Lieutenant of Guisnes, to be Knight Porter, and Comptroller of Calais, where he died, and lies honourably buried.

Sir Edward Wotton of Bocton Malherbe, Knight, (son and heir of the said Sir Robert) was born in the year of Christ, 1489, in the reign of King Henry VII.; he was made Treasurer of Calais, and of the Privy Council to King Henry VIII. who offered him to be Lord Chancellor of England; "But," saith Hollinshed, in his Chronicle, "out of "a virtuous modesty he refused it."

Thomas Wotton of Bocton Malherbe, Esquire, son and heir of the said Sir Edward, and the father of our Sir Henry that occasions this relation, was born in the year of Christ, 1521: He was a gentleman excellently educated, and studious in all the liberal arts; in the knowledge whereof he attained unto a great perfection; who, though he had (besides those abilities, a very noble and plentiful estate and the ancient interest of his predecessors) many invitations from Queen Elizabeth to change his country recreations and retirement for a court, offering him a knighthood (she was

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"singularities of wit and learning, for their honour and govern-"ment in and of the realm, about the prince and elsewhere, at "home and abroad, deserve such commendations, that they "merit *niveo signari lapillo.*" *(Chron. Vol. I. p.* 1402.*)*

then with him at Boeton-hall), and that to be but as an earnest of some more honourable and more profitable employment under her; yet he humbly refused both, being a man of great modesty, of a most plain and single heart, of an ancient freedom and integrity of mind. A commendation which Sir Henry Wotton took occasion often to remember with great gladness, and thankfully to boast himself the son of such a father; from whom indeed he derived that noble ingenuity that was always practised by himself, and which he ever both commended and cherished in others. This Thomas was also remarkable for hospitality, a great lover and much beloved of his country; to which may justly be added, that he was a cherisher of learning, as appears by that excellent antiquary, Mr. William Lambert [d], in his Perambulation of Kent.

This Thomas had four sons [e], Sir Edward, Sir James, Sir John, and Sir Henry.

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[d] WILLIAM LAMBARD of Lincoln's Inn, gent. a pupil of Lawrence Nowell the learned Antiquary, and known to the country magistrate as the author of "Eirenarcha, or of the Office of the "Justices of Peace, 1599," and of the "Duties of Constables, "Borsholders, Tithing-Men, and such other Lowe and Lay "Ministers of the Peace, 1601." His "Perambulation of Kent," much applauded by Camden, encouraged many more men of learning to endeavour the like services for their country. His chief work is "The Archaionomia sive de priscis Anglo-"rum Legibus, 1568," being a translation of the Anglo-Saxon Laws.

[e] SIR HENRY WOTTON, in a letter to Lord Zouch, dated Florence, Aug. 14, 1592, mentions his brother Edward, as having

Sir Edward was knighted [f] by Queen Elizabeth, and made Comptroller of her Majesty's Household. "He was," saith Camden, "a man remarkable for "many and great employments in the state during "her reign, and several times Ambassador into "foreign nations. After her death, he was by "King James made Comptroller of his Household, "and called to be of his Privy Council, and by "him advanced to be Lord Wotton, Baron of

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having lost his wife, a gentlewoman, in his opinion, of most rare virtue; his brother James as gone to serve in the Low Countries; and his brother John as retired to a solitary life, and at some difference with his lady.

[f] "My brother Edward hath, either against his will, as some "say, or with it, as I say, been knighted." *(Letter to Lord Zouch, dated Siena, Dec. 13, 1592.)*——Sir Edward Wotton was, in 1585, sent Ambassador into Scotland, for the purpose of contracting a league offensive and defensive with the King, to counteract the *holy* league, which the Pope, the Spanish King, the Guises, and others had made to extirpate the reformed religion. *(Spotswood's Hist. p. 339.)*——His character, while he was engaged in that embassy, is thus drawn by Dr. Robertson. "This man was gay, well-bred, and entertaining; he excelled in "all the exercises for which James had a passion, and amused "the young King by relating the adventures which he had met "with, and the observations he had made during a long residence "in foreign countries; but under the veil of these superficial "qualities, he concealed a dangerous and intriguing spirit. He "soon grew into high favour with James, and while he was "seemingly attentive only to pleasure and diversions, he acquired "influence over the public councils, to a degree which was in-"decent for a stranger to possess." *(History of Scotland, B. VII.)*

"Merley in Kent, and made Lord Lieutenant of "that county."

Sir James, the second son, may be numbered among the martial men of his age, who was in the thirty-eighth of Queen Elizabeth's reign (with Robert Earl of Sussex, Count Lodowick of Nassau, Don Christophoro, son of Antonio King of Portugal, and divers other gentlemen of nobleness and valour) knighted in the field near Cadiz in Spain, after they had gotten great honour and riches, besides a notable retaliation of injuries by taking that town [s].

Sir John being a gentleman excellently accomplished, both by learning and travel, was knighted by Queen Elizabeth, and by her looked upon with more than ordinary favour, and with intentions of preferment; but death in his younger years put a period to his growing hopes.

Of Sir Henry, my following discourse shall give an account.

The descent of these fore-named Wottons were all in a direct line, and most of them in their actions in the memory of those with whom we have conversed: But if I had looked so far back as to Sir Nicholas Wotton (who lived in the reign of

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[s] The Earl of Essex made knights to the number of sixty. Some of them were persons of little fortunes, nor was Queen Elizabeth pleased with him for making knighthood so common.

A knight of Calais, a gentleman of Wales, and a laird of the north country.
A yeoman of Kent with his yearly rent will buy them out all three.

King Richard II.) or before him, upon divers others of great note in their several ages, I might by some be thought tedious; and yet others may more justly think me negligent, if I omit to mention Nicholas Wotton, the fourth son of Sir Robert, whom I first named.

This Nicholas Wotton was Doctor of Law, and sometime Dean both of York and Canterbury [h]; a man whom God did not only bless with a long life, but with great abilities of mind, and an inclination to employ them in the service of his country, as is testified by his several employments [i], having been sent nine times Ambassador [k] unto foreign princes; and by his being a Privy Counsellor to

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[h] He was installed Dean of York, Dec. 4, 1544, as in 1542 he was constituted the first Dean of Canterbury by the Charter of Incorporation. He held both these preferments to the time of his death, Jan. 26, 1566-7. What Sir Henry Wotton said of Sir Philip Sidney, has been applied to Nicholas Wotton. "That he "was the very measure of congruity." Henry VIII. thus addressed him on his appointment to a foreign embassy; "I have "sent a head by Cromwell, a purse by Wolsey, a sword by "Brandon, and must now send the law by you." *(Lloyd's State Worthies, p.* 107.*)*——He was considered as possessing the qualifications of a statesman in a very eminent degree. "Every "younker speaks as politic as Bishop Gardner or Dr. Wotton." *(Spenser's Letters to his Friend Immerito.)*

[i] Camden, in his Britannica.

[k] It appears, from the inscription on his monument, that he was sent Ambassador twice to the Emperor Charles V. once to Philip King of Spain, once to Francis I. the French King, thrice to

King Henry VIII. to Edward VI. to Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth; who also, after he had been, during the wars between England, and Scotland and France, three several times (and not unsuccessfully) employed in committees for settling of peace betwixt this and those kingdoms, "died," saith learned Camden, "full of commendations for "wisdom and piety." He was also by the will of King Henry VIII. made one of his executors, and chief Secretary of State to his son, that pious Prince Edward VI.—Concerning which Nicholas Wotton, I shall say but this little more; that he refused (being offered it by Queen Elizabeth) to be Archbishop of Canterbury[1]—and that he died not rich, though he lived in that time of the dissolution of abbeys.

More might be added; but by this it may appear, that Sir Henry Wotton was a branch of such a kindred, as left a stock of reputation to their posterity; such reputation as might kindle a generous

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to Henry II. his son, once to Mary Queen of Hungary, governor of the Low Countries, and twice to William Duke of Cleves: That he was also a Commissioner at the renewal of peace between the English, and French and Scots, at a place between Guisnes and Ardes, in 1546, and also at the castle of Cambray, in 1559, and lastly at Edinburgh, in 1560.—See his life in a very valuable work lately published, entitled, "Some account of the Deans of "Canterbury, from the new Foundation of that Church by "Henry VIII. to the present Time. By Henry John Todd, "M. A."

[1] Hollingshed.

emulation [illegible] rs, and preserve a noble ambition in th [illegible] his name and family, to perform actions worthy of their ancestors.

And that Sir Henry Wotton did so, might appear more perfectly than my pen can express it, if of his many surviving friends, some one of higher parts and employments had been pleased to have commended his to posterity; but since some years are now passed, and they have all (I know not why) forborn to do it, my gratitude to my dead friend, and the renewed request of some [m] that still live solicitous to see this duty performed, these have had a power to persuade me to undertake it; which truly, I have not done, but with some distrust of mine own abilities; yet so far from despair, that I am modestly confident my humble language shall be accepted, because I shall present all readers with a commixture of truth, and Sir Henry Wotton's merits.

This being premised, I proceed to tell the reader, that the father of Sir Henry Wotton was twice married; first to Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir John Rudstone, Knight; after whose death, though his inclination was averse to all contentions, yet necessitated he was to several suits in law; in the prosecution whereof (which took up much of his time, and were the occasion of many discontents)

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[m] Sir Edward Bish Clarentieux, King of Arms, Mr. Charles Cotton, and Mr. Nick Oudert, sometime Sir Henry Wotton's servant, and one of the witnesses to his last will.

he was by divers of his friends earnestly persuaded to a remarriage; to whom he as often answered. "That if ever he did put on a resolution to marry, "he was seriously resolved to avoid three sorts of "persons, namely,

"Those that had children;
"Those that had law-suits;
"And those that were of his kindred."

And yet, following his own law-suits, he met in Westminster-hall with Mrs. Elionora Morton, widow to Robert Morton of Kent, Esquire, who was also engaged in several suits in law; and he, observing her comportment at the time of hearing one of her causes before the Judges, could not but at the same time both compassionate her condition, and affect her person (for the tears of lovers, or beauty drest in sadness, are observed to have in them a charming eloquence, and to become very often too strong to be resisted), which I mention, because it proved so with this Thomas Wotton; for although there were in her a concurrence of all those accidents, against which he had so seriously resolved, yet his affection to her grew then so strong, that he resolved to solicit her for a wife; and did, and obtained her.

By her (who was the daughter of Sir William Finch of Eastwell in Kent) he had only Henry his youngest son. His mother undertook to be tutoress unto him during much of his childhood; for whose care and pains he paid her each day

such visible signs of future perfection in
ng, as turned her employment into a pleasing
le; which she was content to continue, till
ther took him into his own particular care,
lisposed of him to a tutor in his own house
cton.

d when time and diligent instruction had made
it for a removal to a higher form (which was
early), he was sent to Winchester-school, a
of strict discipline and order; that so he
t in his youth be moulded into a method of
; by rule, which his wise father knew to be
nost necessary way, to make the future part
s life both happy to himself, and useful for
lischarge of all business, whether public or
te.

d that he might be confirmed in this re-
ity, he was at a fit age[a] removed from that
l to be a Commoner of New-College in
rd; both being founded by William Wick-
Bishop of Winchester.

ere he continued, till about the eighteenth
of his age; and was then transplanted into
n's-College, where within that year he was
e chief of that college persuasively enjoined
ite a play for their private use (it was the
dy of Tancredo), which was so interwoven
sentences, and for the method and exact
nating those humours, passions, and disposi-

[a] He was admitted of New College in 1584.

tions, which he proposed to represent, so performed, that the gravest of that society declared he had in a sleight employment given an early and a solid testimony of his future abilities. And though there may be some sour dispositions, which may think this not worth a memorial, yet that wise Knight, Baptist Guarini[o] (whom learned Italy accounts one of her ornaments), thought it neither an uncomely, nor an unprofitable employment for his age.

But I pass to what will be thought more serious.

About the twentieth year of his age he proceeded Master of Arts[p], and at that time read in Latin three Lectures *de Oculo;* wherein he having described the form, the motion, the curious composure of the eye, and demonstrated how of those very many every humour and nerve performs its distinct office, so as the God of Order hath appointed, without mixture or confusion; and all

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[o] The famous author of the "Il Pastor Fido."

[p] According to Anthony Wood, Mr. Henry Wotton supplicated in June 1588 for the Degree of Bachelor of Arts. But it did not appear from the Records of the University that he was ever admitted to this Degree, or to that of Master of Arts. Now the Records of the University must have been irregularly kept. These Lectures *de Oculo* could not have been read by Sir Henry Wotton, unless he had taken the Degree of B. A., for these Lectures are a part of the Exercises to be performed for the Degree of M. A. "Singuli inceptari sex solemnes Lectiones, "tres in Naturali Philosophiâ, tres in Morali, pro Formâ habere "teneantur in Scholis publicis, &c." *(Statut. Oxon.)*

this to the advantage of man, to whom the eye is given, not only as the body's guide, but whereas all other of his senses require time to inform the soul, this, in an instant, apprehends and warns him of danger; teaching him in the very eyes of others, to discover wit, folly, love, and hatred.

After he had made these observations, he fell to dispute this obtique question:—

"Whether we see by the emission of the beams "from within, or reception of the species from "without[q]?"

And after that, and many other like learned disquisitions, he, in the conclusion of his lectures, took a fair occasion to beautify his discourse with a commendation of the blessing and benefit of "Seeing:—By which, we do not only discover "Nature's secrets, but with a continued content "(for the eye is never weary of seeing) behold "the great light of the world, and by it discover "the fabric of the heavens, and both the order "and motion of the cœlestial orbs; nay, that if "the eye look but downward, it may rejoice to "behold the bosom of the earth, our common "mother, embroidered and adorned with number-"less and various flowers, which man sees daily "grow up to perfection, and then silently moralize "his own condition, who in a short time (like

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[q] See an accurate History of the Causes of Vision in Dr. Smith's Optics, volume II. p. 23.

"those very flowers) decays, withers, and quickly "returns again to that earth from which both "had their first being[1]."

These were so exactly debated, and so rhetorically heightened, as, among other admirers, caused that learned Italian, Albericus Gentilis, then Professor of the Civil Law in Oxford, to call him "*Henrice mi Ocelle*[2];" which dear expression of his was also used by divers of Sir Henry's dearest friends, and by many other persons of note during his stay in the University.

But his stay there was not long, at least not

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[1] The classic reader, and indeed every reader, will be highly gratified with this beautiful passage from Mr. Wotton's Lecture.

> Γαια θεα, μητερ μακαρων θνητων τ' ἀνθρωπων,
> Παντροφε, παιδοτοκε, τελεσφορε. ORPHEI. HYMN.

> ".....alma liquentes
> "Humorum guttas Mater cùm Terra recepit,
> "Fœta parit nitidas fruges, arbustaque læta,
> "Et genus humanum, et parit omnia sæcla ferarum,
> "Pabula cùm præbet, quibus omnes corpora pascunt,
> "Et dulcem ducunt vitam, prolemque propagant,
> "Quapropter meritò maternum nomen adepta 'st."
> LUCRET. Lib. II. v. 991.

> "Quasi Solstitialis Herba, paulisper fui:
> "Repente exortus sum, repentinò occidi."
> PLAUT. PSEUDOL.

In all languages the life of man has been compared to the flower that is soon withered, and passeth away.

[2] "Volo placere Philolachi, *meo ocello*, meo patrono." (*Plaut. Most. A. I. Sc.* 3,—11.

so long as his friends once intended; for the year after Sir Henry proceeded Master of Arts, his father—(whom Sir Henry did never mention without this or some such like reverential expression; as, "That good man my father," or "My father the best of men.")—About that time, this good man changed this for a better life, leaving to Sir Henry, as to his other younger sons, a rent-charge of an hundred marks a-year, to be paid for ever out of some one of his manors of a much greater value.

And here, though this good man be dead, yet I wish a circumstance or two that concern him may not be buried without a relation, which I shall undertake to do, for that I suppose, they may so much concern the reader to know, that I may promise myself a pardon for a short digression.

In the year of our redemption, 1553, Nicholas Wotton, Dean of Canterbury (whom I formerly mentioned), being then Ambassador in France, dreamed that his nephew, this Thomas Wotton, was inclined to be a party in such a project, as, if he were not suddenly prevented, would turn both to the loss of his life, and ruin of his family.

Doubtless the good Dean did well know that common dreams are but a senseless paraphrase on our waking thoughts, or of the business of the day past, or are the result of our over-engaged

affections, when we betake ourselves to rest; and knew that the observation of them may turn to silly superstitions, as they too often do. But though he might know all this, and might also believe that prophecies are ceased; yet, doubtless, he could not but consider, that all dreams are not to be neglected or cast away without all consideration, and did therefore rather lay this dream aside, than intend totally to lose it; and dreaming the same again the night following, when it became a double dream, like that of Pharaoh (of which double dreams the learned have made many observations), and considering that it had no dependence on his waking thoughts, much less on the desires of his heart, then he did more seriously consider it; and remembered that Almighty God was pleased in a dream to reveal and to assure Monica the mother of St. Austin, "That "he, her son, for whom she wept so bitterly, and "prayed so much, should at last become a Chris-"tian [t]." This, I believe, the good Dean considered; and considering also that Almighty God (though the causes of dreams be often unknown) hath even in these latter times also, by a certain illumination of the soul in sleep, discovered many things that human wisdom could not foresee: Upon these considerations he resolved to use so prudent a remedy, by way of prevention, as might

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[t] This dream is related by St. Augustin in *Confessionum Lib. III. c.* ii.

introduce no great inconvenience either to himself or to his nephew. And to that end, he wrote to the Queen (it was Queen Mary), and besought her, "That she would cause his nephew, Thomas "Wotton, to be sent for out of Kent; and that "the Lords of her Council might interrogate him "in some such feigned questions, as might give a "colour for his commitment into a favourable "prison; declaring that he would acquaint her "Majesty with the true reason of his request, "when he should next become so happy as to see "and speak to her Majesty [u]."

It was done as the Dean desired. And in prison I must leave Mr. Wotton, till I have told the reader what followed.

At this time a marriage was concluded betwixt our Queen Mary, and Philip King of Spain. And though this was concluded with the advice, if not by the persuasion, of her Privy Council,

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[u] This account seems to be confirmed by Speed. "Among "many dislikers of the Queen's marriage, it chanced *one for* "*some other offence to be committed to the Fleet, by the Council,* "*who, being an inward acquaintance of Sir Thomas Wyatt's, was* "*supposed by him to have revealed the conspiracie, whereupon he* "*put himself in action, before the enterprize was altogether ripe.*" (*Speed's Hist. of Great Britain, p.* 1112.)——The author of the "Account of the Deans of Canterbury," has ingeniously conjectured that this dream of the good Dean was a mere political contrivance, the result of deep deliberation, to preserve the life of his nephew, whose intimacy with Sir Thomas Wyat would probably have induced him to engage in the conspiracy.——See also *Biogr. Brit. in the Article* WOTTON [E].

as having many probabilities of advantage to this nation; yet divers persons of a contrary persuasion did not only declare against it, but also raised forces to oppose it; believing (as they said) it would be a means to bring England to be under a subjection to Spain [x], and make those of this nation slaves to strangers.

And of this number Sir Thomas Wyat, of Boxley-Abbey in Kent (betwixt whose family, and the family of the Wottons, there had been an ancient and entire friendship), was the principal actor; who having persuaded many of the nobility and gentry (especially of Kent) to side with him, and he being defeated, and taken prisoner, was legally arraigned and condemned, and lost his life: So did the Duke of Suffolk, and divers others; especially many of the gentry of Kent, who were there in several places executed as Wyat's assistants [y].

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[x] It was generally supposed at this time, that, under the semblance of introducing the Romish religion into England, the secret design of Philip was to secure to himself the possession of the Imperial Crown of England, and to make the English vassals to the power of Spain. *(Kennet's Hist. of England, Vol. III. p. 339.)*

[y] Of this Rebellion see "Kennet's complete History of England," vol. II. p. 340. The following anecdote affords an example of loyalty and zeal at this time:

"Ralph Rokeby, Serjeant at the Common Law, and of the "ancient family of Rokeby, of Rokeby, near Greta-bridge, "Yorkshire, was so eminent in his profession, that he refused "the

And of this number, in all probability, had Mr. Wotton been, if he had not been confined. For, though he could not be ignorant that "Another "man's treason makes it mine by concealing it," yet he durst confess to his uncle, when he returned into England, and then came to visit him in prison, "That he had more than an intimation of Wyat's intentions," and thought he had not continued actually innocent, if his uncle had not so happily dreamed him into a prison; out of which place, when he was delivered by the same hand that caused his commitment, they both considered the dream more seriously, and both then joined in praising God for it; "That God, who ties himself

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"the office of Lord Chief Justice, when offered to him on the "cession of Justice Morgan. Sir Tho. Wiatt the rebell of "Kent, against King Philip, Q. Mary, and the Spaniards, being "noised to be coming towards London, this Ralph Rokeby went "to Westminster in his Serjeant's robes to plead, and under "them a good court-armour, and hearing att Charing-Cross, the "near approach of the rebells, he hastened him to the Queen's "Court at White-hall, strung and fetled an Archer of the Livery "Guards' bow, that stood there unstrung, threw down the "Serjeant's robes for that time, and went to the Gate-house to "serve there with a bow and a sheaf of arrows, and there "tarried till the enemy yielded, and thus in the time of need he "was ready to fight with his body for his Prince against rebells, "on whom he had jurisdiction in time of peace in the circuit of "Northampton, Warwick, Coventre, Leceister, Derby, Notting-"ham, Lincoln, and Rutland, to adjudge of their lives, lands, "and goods, for there he was Justice of Assise and Gaole "Delivery." *(MS. Memoirs of the Rokebys, in the possession of Francis Smyth, Esq. of Newbuildings, Yorkshire.)*

"to no rules, either in preventing of evil, or in "showing of mercy to those whom of good plea-"sure he hath chosen to love [z]."

And this dream was the more considerable, because that God, who in the days of old did use to speak to his people in visions, did seem to speak to many of this family in dreams; of which I will also give the reader one short particular of this Thomas Wotton, whose dreams did usually prove true, both in foretelling things to come, and discovering things past: And the particular is this. This Thomas, a little before his death, dreamed that the University Treasury was robbed by townsmen and poor scholars [a]; and that the number was five; and being that day to write to his son Henry at Oxford, he thought it worth so much pains, as by a postscript in his letter, to make a slight inquiry of it. The letter (which was writ out of Kent, and dated three days before) came to his son's hands the very morning after the night in which the robbery was committed; and when the city and university were both in a perplexed inquest of the thieves, then did Sir Henry Wotton show his father's letter, and by it such light was

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[z] This sentiment happily illustrates the beneficence of Providence accomplishing its gracious purposes in a manner best suited to its own dispensations, in promoting the happiness of good men.

[a] Of the robbery here mentioned, no account whatever is recorded in the annals of the University.

given of this work of darkness, that the five guilty persons were presently discovered and apprehended, without putting the university to so much trouble as the casting of a figure [b].

And it may yet be more considerable, that this Nicholas and Thomas Wotton should both (being men of holy lives, of even tempers, and much given to fasting and prayer) foresee and foretel the very days of their own death. Nicholas did so, being then seventy years of age, and in perfect health [c]. Thomas did the like in the sixty-fifth year of his age; who, being then in London (where he died), and foreseeing his death there, gave direction in what manner his body should be carried to Bocton; and, though he thought his uncle Nicholas worthy of that noble monument which he built for him in the Cathedral Church of Canterbury, yet this humble man gave direction

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[b] Judicial Astrology was much in use long after this time. Its predictions were received with reverential awe; and men, even of the most enlightened understandings, were inclined to believe that the conjunctions and oppositions of the planets had no little influence in the affairs of the world. Even the excellent Joseph Mede disdained not to apply himself to the study of Astrology.

[c] This is intimated in the inscription on his monument, erected in the Cathedral Church of Canterbury. "Hæc ille ante mor-" tem et ante morbum, quasi fatalem diem præsentiens et cygneam " cantionem prophetice canens, suâ manu in Museo scripta " reliquit."

concerning himself, to be buried privately, and especially without any pomp at his funeral.

This is some account of this family, which seemed to be beloved of God.

But it may now seem more than time that I return to Sir Henry Wotton at Oxford, where, after his optic lecture, he was taken into such a bosom friendship with the learned Albericus Gentilis[d] (whom I formerly named), that, if it had been possible, Gentilis would have breathed all

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[d] This noted Civilian having left Italy along with his father Matthew Gentilis, who had embraced the Reformed religion, came into England and died at London in 1608, aged 58 years. He published three books, "De Jure Belli;" which proved very useful to Grotius, in his great work, "De Jure Belli et Pacis," and also a tractate "De Latinitate veteris Bibliorum Versionis," with other works. *(Dictionnaire Historique, &c.)*

The following high encomium is given of him by Mr. Thomas Savile, in a letter to Mr. Camden. "Albericum primarium "olim in Italiâ Judicem, Christianæ Religionis ergò nunc in "Angliâ exulem, Oxonii Professorem publicum, et tuo et meo "nomine dignum, Virum reperies non unum è Tricassinis, sed "ipsam Humanitatem, merum Candorem, alterum denique "Camdenum." *(Camdeni Epist. p. 8.)*

Bayle mentions with much disapprobation a method observed by Albericus Gentilis, whose eagerness in the acquisition of knowledge impelled him to seek instruction not less from conversation than from reading. This circumstance is noticed by himself. "Quid de Oxoniensibus meis? Vel repertoria mea "testantur satis quantum ego capiam fructûs ex eorum virorum "et juvenum colloquiis, nam in illis ego descripsi non pauca "quæ, dum minùs id ipsi cogitant, disco tamen et asservo ex "sermonibus familiaribus." *(Dial. III. de Juris Suterp. p. 36.)*

his excellent knowledge, both of the Mathematics and Law[e], into the breast of his dear Harry; for so Gentilis used to call him: And though he was not able to do that, yet there was in Sir Henry such a propensity and connaturalness to the Italian language and those studies whereof Gentilis was a great master, that his friendship between them did daily increase, and proved daily advantageous to Sir Henry, for the improvement of him in several sciences, during his stay in the university.

From which place, before I shall invite the reader to follow him into a foreign nation, though I must omit to mention divers persons that were then in Oxford, of memorable note for learning, and friends to Sir Henry Wotton, yet I must not omit the mention of a love that was there begun betwixt him and Dr. Donne[f], sometime Dean of

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[e] Civil Law. In several parts of his writings he has frequent allusions to the processes and practices observed in the ecclesiastical courts. "A libel, whose substance cannot be changed "after it is once given into a civil or ecclesiastical court, may in "some sort be declared or amended before a replication be made "thereunto. A witness, &c." *(Preface to his Supplement to the History of Christendom.)*

[f] In Dr. DONNE's letters, published in 1651, are several addressed "To the best Knight, Sir H. Wotton." Dr. Donne has thus expressed his great regard for this his friend.

"Whom free from German schismes, and lightnesse
"Of France and faire Italie's faithlessnesse,
"Having from these suck'd all they had of worth,
"And brought home that faith you carried forth
"I thoroughly love. *(Donne's Poems, 1633. p. 63.)*

St. Paul's, a man of whose abilities I shall forbear to say any thing; because he who is of this nation, and pretends to learning or ingenuity, and is ignorant of Dr. Donne, deserves not to know him. The friendship of these two I must not omit to mention, being such a friendship as was generously elemented; and as it was begun in their youth, and in an University, and there maintained by correspondent inclinations and studies, so it lasted till age and death forced a separation.

In Oxford he stayed till about two years after his father's death, at which time he was about the twenty-second year of his age: And having to his great wit added the ballast of learning and knowledge of the arts, he then laid aside his books, and betook himself to the useful library of travel, and a more general conversation with mankind; employing the remaining part of his youth, his industry and fortune, to adorn his mind, and to purchase the rich treasure of foreign knowledge: Of which, both for the secrets of Nature, the dispositions of many nations, their several laws and languages, he was the possessor in a very large measure, as I shall faithfully make to appear, before I take my pen from the following narration of his life.

In his travels, which was almost nine years[t] before his return into England, he stayed but one

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[t] Or rather, six years. The writers of the Biographia Britannica explain the mistake by supposing that the tail of the 9 should be turned upwards to make it 6. It appears from a letter to

year in France, and most of that in Geneva, where he became acquainted with Theodore Beza[h] (then very aged) and with Isaac Casaubon[i], in whose

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to Lord Zouch, dated July 10, 1592, that he had been abroad three years. He probably returned in 1595, as he was appointed Secretary to the Earl of Essex, after his return, in 1596, when he was in the 27th or 28th year of his age. In his letters to the above nobleman he has given an entertaining account of his travels, under the disguise of a Dutchman, and particularly of his journey to Rome, where he distinguished himself by wearing a large blue feather in a black hat. At Sienna he learned of Scipio Alberti the maxim which he recommended to Milton, "*I pensieri stretti et il viso sciolto.*"

[h] THEODORE BEZA died at Geneva, Oct. 13, 1605, aged 86 years. This learned foreigner encouraged the Puritans in England, and in 1566 wrote with much confidence to Bishop Grindal in their behalf. Yet however attached he might be to the discipline of his own church at Geneva, and he was very zealous for a Presbyterian government, and by no means so moderate as Calvin in that respect, it appears from several of his letters to Archbishop Whitgift, that he retained the highest regard and veneration for the Church of England. His Biographer, Melchior Adam, has given this character of him. "Ingenio summo, "judicio accurato, memoriâ tenacissimâ, facundiâ singulari, affa-"bilitate et comitate nulli secundus, adeo ut, propter commemo-"ratas dotes, adjunctâ illis vitæ longævitate (quæ tamen omnia "erant inferiora summâ doctrinâ et pietate) quidam vocarent "Bezam *ætatis suæ Phœnicem.*"

[i] "Here I am placed to my very great contentment in the "house of Mr. Isaac Casaubon, a person of sober condition among "the French, and this is all I can signifie of myself, my little "affairs not allowing me much to speak of." (*Letter to my Lord Zouch, Aug. 22, 1593, Geneva.*)

This

house (if I be rightly informed) Sir Henry Wotton was lodged, and there contracted a most worthy

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This illustrious scholar, pronounced by Joseph Scaliger to be the best Grecian of his time, was born at Geneva in 1559. He read lectures on the Belles Lettres, first at his native place, and afterwards at Paris. Henry IV. of France appointed him his Librarian, and in vain attempted to withdraw him from his profession of the Reformed religion. After the untimely death of that Monarch, having obtained permission from the Queen Regent of France to leave the kingdom for a limited time, he came in October 1610, along with Sir Henry Wotton into England, where he was received by James I. with marks of peculiar kindness, rewarded with an annual pension of three hundred pounds, and with valuable church-preferment. He was esteemed not more for his learned works than for his singular affability and moderation. He approved Episcopacy. In his works he calls himself "Hortibonus," a good garden: *Casau*, in the language of Dauphiné, signifying a garden, and *bon* good. It is well known that Isaac Casaubon and Grotius, extremely anxious to form an union between the Popish and Protestant churches, had communicated their sentiments to each other upon this matter with great freedom.

Morton, Bishop of Durham, caused a monument at his own expense to be erected to the memory of this learned man.

"Qui nosse vult Casaubonum
"Non saxa sed chartas legat
"Superfuturas marmori
"Et profuturas posteris."

When Lord Herbert of Cherbury went to Paris in the earlier period of his life, he was, by the recommendation of the English Ambassador, received into the house of that incomparable scholar, Isaac Casaubon, by whose learned conversation he much benefited himself. *(Life of Lord Herbert, printed at Strawberry Hill, p. 69.)*

friendship with that man of rare learning and ingenuity.

Three of the remaining eight years were spent in Germany, the other five in Italy (the stage on which God appointed he should act a great part of his life); where both in Rome[k], Venice, and Florence, he became acquainted with the most eminent men for learning, and all manner of arts; as Picture, Sculpture, Chymistry, Architecture, and other manual arts, even arts of inferior nature; of all which he was a most dear lover, and a most excellent judge.

He returned out of Italy into England about the thirtieth year of his age, being then noted by many both for his person and comportment: For indeed he was of a choice shape, tall of stature, and of a most persuasive behaviour; which was so mixed with sweet discourse and civilities, as gained him much love from all persons with whom he entered into an acquaintance.

And whereas he was noted in his youth to have a sharp wit, and apt to jest; that, by time, travel, and conversation, was so polished, and made so

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k "The very seat and sink of all corruption, to which," as he writes in a letter to King James, "my wandering curiosity "carried me no less than four times in my younger years, where "I fixed my studies most upon the historical part in the politic "management of religion; which I found plainly converted "from a rule of conscience to an instrument of state, and from "the mistress of all sciences into the very handmaid of "Ambition."

useful, that his company seemed to be one of the delights of mankind; insomuch as Robert Earl of Essex[1] (then one of the darlings of Fortune, and in greatest favour with Queen Elizabeth) invited him first into a friendship, and, after a knowledge of his great abilities, to be one of his Secretaries, the other being Mr. Henry Cuffe[m], sometime of Merton College in Oxford (and there also the acquaintance of Sir Henry Wotton in his youth); Mr. Cuffe being then a man of no common note in the University for his learning, nor after his removal from that place, for the great abilities of

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[1] See Sir Henry Wotton's "Parallel betwixt Robert Earl of Essex and George Duke of Buckingham." (*Reliq. Wotton*, p. 161.)——This parallel was animadverted upon by Lord Clarendon.

[m] The unfortunate Secretary of Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex. He is generally supposed to have advised those violent measures which ended in the destruction of his noble patron. His character as a scholar was established by the tract, "De "rebus gestis in sancto Concilio Nicæno," a translation from Greek into Latin. He suffered for the same offence with his master. Sir Henry Wotton describes Cuffe as "A man of secret "ambitious ends of his own, and of proportionate counsels, "smothered under the habit of a scholar, and slubbered over "with a certain rude and clownish fashion that had the semblance "of integrity." (*Reliq. Wotton*, p. 180.)——He is called by Camden, "Vir exquisitissimâ doctrinâ ingenioque acerrimo, sed "turbido et tortuoso." Owen, the Epigrammatist, wrote the following lines upon him; alluding to his untimely death.

"Doctus eras Græcè, felixque tibi fuit Alpha,
"At fuit infelix Omega, Cuffe tuum."

his mind, nor indeed for the fatalness of his end.

Sir Henry Wotton, being now taken into a serviceable friendship with the Earl of Essex, did personally attend his councils and employments in two voyages at sea against the Spaniards, and also in that (which was the Earl's last) into Ireland: That voyage wherein he then did so much provoke the Queen to anger, and worse at his return into England; upon whose immoveable favour the Earl had built such sandy hopes, as encouraged him to those undertakings; which, with the help of a contrary faction, suddenly caused his commitment to the Tower.

Sir Henry Wotton observing this, though he was not of that faction (for the Earl's followers were also divided into their several interests) which encouraged the Earl to those undertakings which proved so fatal to him and divers of his confederation; yet knowing treason to be so comprehensive, as to take in even circumstances, and out of them to make such positive conclusions as subtle statesmen shall project, either for their revenge or safety: Considering this, he thought prevention by absence out of England[a], a better security

[a] In the beginning of his account of "The State of Christen-"dom," he pathetically laments his voluntary banishment. "That day should have been more joyful unto me than the day "of my birth and nativity, wherein I might have seen a letter "from any of my friends with assurance of my pardon to call "me

than to stay in it, and there plead his innocency in a prison. Therefore did he, so soon as the Earl was apprehended, very quickly, and as privately glide through Kent to Dover, without so much as looking toward his native and beloved Boeton; and was by the help of favourable winds and liberal payment of the mariners, within sixteen hours after his departure from London, set upon the French shore; where he heard shortly after, that the Earl was arraigned, condemned, and beheaded; and that his friend Mr. Cuffe was hanged, and divers other persons of eminent quality executed.

The times did not look so favourable upon Sir Henry Wotton, as to invite his return into England: Having therefore procured of Sir Edward Wotton, his elder brother, an assurance that his annuity should be paid him in Italy, thither he went; happily renewing his intermitted friendship and interest, and indeed his great content in a new conversation with his old acquaintance in that nation, and more particularly in Florence (which city is not more eminent for the Great Duke's Court, than for the great recourse of men of choicest note for learning and arts), in which

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"me home. But I find myself so much inferior to Coriolanus in "good fortune, as I come behind him in manly valour, and other "laudable qualities."

Τί; τὸ στερεῖσθαι πατρίδος ἢ κακὸν μέγα;
Μέγιστον· ἰσχὺς δ' ἐστὶ μείζων ἢ λόγῳ.

number he there met with his old friend, Signior Vietta, a gentleman of Venice, and then taken to be Secretary to the Great Duke of Tuscany.

After some stay in Florence*, he went, the fourth time, to visit Rome; where in the English College he had very many friends (their humanity made them really so, though they knew him to be a dissenter from many of their principles of religion), and having enjoyed their company, and satisfied himself concerning some curiosities that did partly occasion his journey thither, he returned back to Florence, where a most notable

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* Here he composed his great work, "The State of Christendom; or a most Exact and Curious Discovery of many Secret Passages and Hidden Mysteries of the Times," 1657, folio.—A second edition appeared in 1677, with several additions. The design of the Author seems to have been to ingratiate himself with Queen Elizabeth; on the transactions of whose reign he expatiates in all the language of panegyric.

That men of learning should fix their residence at Florence we need not wonder, when we reflect that this city has been long celebrated for its many excellent libraries, and principally for the ducal palace, which contains the greatest and most valuable collection made by one family, and within one roof, of ancient and modern sculpture, paintings, and curiosities of every kind, both natural and artificial. Yet Sir Henry Wotton has given a very unfavourable account of this place. "I live "here in a Paradise inhabited by devils. Venice hath scarce "heard of those vices which are here practised. My best "commodity is the conversation of certain gentlemen, and their "vulgar very pure and correct. So that here we have good "means to learn to speak well and to do ill." *(Letter to Lord Zouch, Florence, June 25, 1592.)*

accident befell him: An accident that did not only find new employment for his choice abilities, but did introduce him to a knowledge and an interest with our King James, then King of Scotland: which I shall proceed to relate.

But first, I am to tell the reader, that though Queen Elizabeth (or she and her council) were never willing to declare her successor; yet James, then King of the Scots, was confidently believed by most to be the man upon whom the sweet trouble of kingly government would be imposed: And the Queen declining very fast, both by age and visible infirmities, those that were of the Romish persuasion in point of religion (even Rome itself, and those of this nation), knowing that the death of the Queen, and the establishing of her successor, were taken to be critical days for destroying or establishing the Protestant religion in this nation, did therefore improve all opportunities for preventing a Protestant Prince to succeed her. And as the Pope's excommunication of Queen Elizabeth[p] had, both by the

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[p] Pope Pius V. without any previous admonition or citation, had passed a private sentence of excommunication upon Queen Elizabeth; which, in 1576, he caused to be published, and to be fixed upon the Bishop of London's palace-gate. By this exertion of his authority, he deposed her from her kingdom, and enjoined all her subjects to throw off their allegiance to her.—This Bull was completely answered by a foreign divine, Henry Bullinger, a minister of the Reformed Church at Zurich. On this Bull Bishop Jewell addressed his congregation in animated

judgment and practice of the Jesuited Papist, exposed her to be warrantably destroyed; so (if we may believe an angry adversary[q], "a Secular Priest against a Jesuit"), you may believe, that about that time there were many endeavours, first to excommunicate, and then to shorten the life of King James.

Immediately after Sir Henry Wotton's return from Rome to Florence (which was about a year before the death of Queen Elizabeth), Ferdinand,

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mated language, telling them,—That he had read it and weighed it thoroughly, and found it to be a matter of great blasphemy against God, and a practice to work much unquietness, sedition, and treason against our blessed and prosperous government: "For it deposed the Queen's Majesty from her royal seat, "and tore the crown from her head. It discharged all her "natural subjects from all due obedience. It armed one side "of them against another. It emboldened them to burn, to "spoil, to rob, to kill, to cut one another's throats; like "Pandora's box sent to Epimetheus, full of hurtful and un-"wholesome evils." *(Bishop Jewell's Works.)*

[q] WILLIAM WATSON, a secular priest, composed a book, written with great acrimony in the scholastic method usually observed at that time, consisting of ten quodlibets; each of which is subdivided into as many articles. It discloseth the character and conduct of the Jesuits; exhibiting in proper colours their arts of equivocation and mental reservation. Yet this man, so acute in discerning the errors of others, was hanged in 1603, for High Treason, along with William Clark, a Popish priest, and George Brook, brother to Lord Cobham, in conspiring the death of James I. He had deceived his accomplices by instructing them, "That the King, before his coronation, was "not an actual but a political king, and therefore no treason "could be committed against him." *(See the State Trials.)*

the Great Duke of Florence[r], had intercepted certain letters that discovered a design to take away the life of James the then King of Scots. The Duke abhorring the fact, and resolving to endeavour a prevention of it, advised with his Secretary Vietta, by what means a caution might be best given to that King; and after consideration, it was resolved to be done by Sir Henry Wotton, whom Vietta first commended to the Duke, and the Duke had noted and approved of above all the English that frequented his court.

Sir Henry was gladly called by his friend Vietta to the Duke, who, after much profession of trust and friendship, acquainted him with the secret; and being well instructed, dispatched him into Scotland with letters to the King, and, with those letters, such Italian antidotes against poison[s] as the Scots till then had been strangers to.

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[r] FERDINAND I. of the house of Medici, who in 1589 succeeded his brother Francis I. was educated for the church, and advanced to the dignity of a Cardinal. He resigned his hat when he was 52 years of age. A wise and excellent Prince, he applied himself to domestic affairs and governed his subjects with great mildness. He died in 1609. His character is drawn by Sir Henry Wotton in the "Reliquiæ Wottonianæ," p. 243. He is described by a foreign historian in these words: "Princeps animo excelso, et omnibus politicis artibus in tan-"tum instructus, ut in multis seculis vix æqualem habuerit."

[s] "This Duke," says Sir Henry Wotton, in an address to Charles I. "while I was a private traveller in Florence, and "went

Having parted from the Duke, he took up the name and language of an Italian; and thinking it best to avoid the line of English intelligence and danger, he posted into Norway, and through that country towards Scotland, where he found the King at Stirling: Being there, he used means by Bernard Lindsey, one of the King's bedchamber, to procure him a speedy and private conference with his Majesty; assuring him, "That "the business which he was to negociate was of "such consequence, as had caused the Great "Duke of Tuscany to enjoin him suddenly to "leave his native country of Italy, to impart it "to his King."

This being by Bernard Lindsey made known to the King, the King, after a little wonder (mixed with jealousy) to hear of an Italian ambassador or messenger, required his name (which

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"went sometime by chance (sure I am without any design) "to his court, was pleased out of some gracious conceit which "he took of my fidelity (for nothing else could move it), to "employ me into Scotland, with a casket of antidotes and "preservatives (wherein he did excel all the princes of the "world), and with a dispatch of high and secret importance, "which he had intercepted, touching some practice upon the "succession to this crown; so as I am much obliged to his "memory, though it was a painful journey, for that honour, "and other favours and beneficences; and especially because "I came thereby first into the notice of the King your father, "of ever-blessed memory, when your Majesty was but a bloom-"ing rose." *(Reliq. Wotton. p. 246.)*

was said to be Octavio Baldi[1]), and appointed him to be heard privately at a fixed hour that evening.

When Octavio Baldi came to the presence-chamber door, he was requested to lay aside his long rapier (which Italian-like he then wore), and being entered the chamber, he found there with the King three or four Scotch Lords standing distant in several corners of the chamber, at the sight of whom he made a stand; which the King observing, "bade him be bold, and deliver his "message; for he would undertake for the "secrecy of all that were present." Then did Octavio Baldi deliver his letters and his message to the King in Italian: which when the King had graciously received, after a little pause, Octavio Baldi steps to the table, and whispers to the King in his own language, that he was an Englishman, beseeching him for a more private conference with his Majesty, and that he might be concealed during his stay in that nation: which was promised, and really performed by the

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[1] In a letter to the King, dated Dec. 9, 1622, Sir Henry Wotton styles himself, "Your Majesty's faithful vassal, and "long devoted poor servant, Octavio Baldi." (*Reliq. Wotton.* p. 247.) And in a letter to Henry Prince of Wales, dated from Venice, April 14, 1608, he alludes to this circumstance of his life, calling himself "a poor counterfeit Italian." He probably assumed this name out of regard to the memory of Bernardino Baldi, Abbot of Guastalla, a great master in his favourite science of architecture, and quoted by him as a commentator on Aristotle's Mechanics.

King during all his abode there, which was about three months: all which time was spent with much pleasantness to the King, and with as much to Octavio Baldi himself as that country could afford; from which he departed as true an Italian as he came thither.

To the Duke at Florence he returned with a fair and grateful account of his employment; and within some few months after his return, there came certain news to Florence, that Queen Elizabeth was dead, and James, King of the Scots, proclaimed King of England. The Duke knowing travel and business to be the best schools of wisdom, and that Sir Henry Wotton had been tutored in both, advised him to return presently to England, and there joy the King with his new and better title, and wait there upon Fortune for a better employment.

When King James came into England, he found, amongst other of the late Queen's officers, Sir Edward, who was, after Lord Wotton, Comptroller of the House, of whom he demanded, "If he "knew one Henry Wotton, that had spent much "time in foreign travel?" The Lord replied, he knew him well, and that he was his brother: Then the King, asking where he then was, was answered, at Venice or Florence; but by late letters from thence he understood he would suddenly be at Paris. "Send for him," said the King; "and "when he shall come into England, bid him re-"pair privately to me." The Lord Wotton, after

a little wonder, asked the King, "If he knew "him?" to which the King answered, "You "must rest unsatisfied of that till you bring the "gentleman to me."

Not many months after this discourse, the Lord Wotton brought his brother to attend the King, who took him in his arms, and bade him welcome, by the name of *Octavio Baldi*; saying he was the most honest, and therefore the best dissembler that ever he met with: And said, "Seeing I know "you neither want learning, travel, nor experience, "and that I have had so real a testimony of your "faithfulness and abilities to manage an ambas-"sage, I have sent for you to declare my purpose: "which is, to make use of you in that kind here-"after." And indeed the King did so most of those two-and-twenty years of his reign; but before he dismissed Octavio Baldi from his present attendance upon him, he restored him to his old name of Henry Wotton, by which he then knighted him [u].

Not long after this, the King having resolved, according to his motto, "BEATI PACIFICI [x]," to

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[u] James I. was as liberal in the distribution of honours, as his predecessor Queen Elizabeth was sparing. In 1603 he conferred knighthood on more than five hundred persons.

[x] James I. heard with great pleasure the epithet of the "pacific" monarch applied to himself. "I know not by what fortune "the *dicton* of pacific was added to my title at my coming into "England, that of the *lyon* expressing true fortitude having "been

have a friendship with his neighbour kingdoms of France and Spain; and also for divers weighty reasons, to enter into an alliance with the state of Venice, and to that end to send ambassadors to those several places, did propose the choice of these employments to Sir Henry Wotton; who considering the smallness of his own estate (which he never took care to augment), and knowing the courts of great princes to be sumptuous, and necessarily expensive, inclined most to that of Venice, as being a place of more retirement, and best suiting with his genius, who did ever love to join with business, study, and a trial of natural experiments: for both which, fruitful Italy, that darling of Nature, and cherisher of all arts, is so justly famed in all parts of the Christian world.

Sir Henry having after some short time and consideration resolved upon Venice, and a large allowance being appointed by the King for his voyage thither, and a settled maintenance during his stay there, he left England [r], nobly accompa-

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"been my *dicton* before: But I am not ashamed of this addition; "for King Solomon was a figure of Christ, in that, that he was "a King of Peace. The greatest gift that our Saviour gave his "apostles immediately before his ascension was, that he left his "peace with them, he himself having prayed for his persecutors "and forgiven his own death, as the proverb is."

(King James's Works, p. 590.)

[r] In 1604.

nied through France to Venice by gentlemen of the best families and breeding that this nation afforded: they were too many to name, but these two, for the following reasons, may not be omitted. Sir Albertus Morton his nephew, who went his secretary; and William Bedel, a man of choice learning, and sanctified wisdom, who went his chaplain. And though his dear friend Dr. Donne (then a private gentleman) was not one of the number that did personally accompany him in this voyage, yet the reading of the following letter sent by him to Sir Henry Wotton, the morning before he left England, may testify he wanted not his friend's best wishes to attend him.

LETTER.

SIR,

After those reverend papers, whose soul is
  Our good and great King's lov'd hand and fear'd name:
By which to you he derives much of his,
  And, how he may, makes you almost the same;

A taper of his torch; a copy writ
  From his original, and a fair beam
Of the same warm and dazzling sun, though it
  Must in another sphere his virtue stream:

After those learned papers which your hand
  Hath stored with notes of use and pleasure too;
From which rich treasury you may command
  Fit matter whether you will write or do.

After those loving papers which friends send
  With glad grief to your seaward steps farewell,
And thicken on you now, as prayers ascend
  To heaven on troops at a good man's passing-bell [z]:

Admit this honest paper; and allow
  It such an audience as yourself would ask;
What you would say at Venice, this says now,
  And has for nature what you have for task.

To swear much love; nor to be chang'd before
  Honour alone will to your fortune fit;
Nor shall I then honour your fortune more,
  Than I have done your honour-wanting-wit.

But 'tis an easier load (though both oppress)
  To want, than govern greatness; for we are
In that our own and only business;
  In this, we must for others' vices care.

'Tis therefore well your spirits now are plac'd
  In their last furnace, in activity,
Which fits them: schools, and courts, and wars o'er-past
  To touch and taste in any best degree.

For me! (if there be such a thing as I)
  Fortune (if there be such a thing as she)
Finds that I bear so well her tyranny,
  That she thinks nothing else so fit for me [a].

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[z] The soul-bell was tolled before the departure of a person out of life, as a signal for good men to offer up their prayers *for the dying*. Hence the abuse commenced of praying *for the dead*. "Aliquo *moriente* campanæ debent pul-"sari, ut populus hoc audiens oret pro illo." *(Durandi rationale.)*

[a] The author of these lines was then struggling with poverty and domestic distress.

But though she parts us, to hear my oft prayers
For your increase, God is as near me here:
And, to send you what I shall beg, his stairs
In length and ease are alike every where.

J. DONNE.

Sir Henry Wotton was received by the State of Venice with much honour and gladness, both for that he delivered his ambassage most elegantly in the Italian language, and came also in such a juncture of time, as his master's friendship seemed useful for that republic. The time of his coming thither was about the year 1604. Leonardo Donato being then Duke, a wise and resolved man, and to all purposes such (Sir Henry Wotton would often say it) as the State of Venice could not then have wanted, there having been formerly in the time of Pope Clement VIII. some contests about the privileges of churchmen, and the power of the civil magistrate; of which, for the information of common readers, I shall say a little, because it may give light to some passages that follow.

About the year 1603, the Republic of Venice made several injunctions against lay persons giving lands or goods to the church, without licence from the civil magistrate [b]; and in that inhibition, they expressed their reasons to be, "For that when

[b] They also made injunctions "Against the unnecessary increase of new churches, convents, and other religious buildings within their dominions."

"any goods or land once came into the hands of "the ecclesiastics, it was not subject to alienation, "by reason whereof (the lay people being at their "death charitable even to excess, the clergy grew "every day more numerous, and pretended an ex-"emption from all public service and taxes, and "from all secular judgment; so that the burden "grew thereby too heavy to be borne by the "laity."

Another occasion of difference was, that about this time complaints were justly made by the Venetians against two Clergymen, the Abbot of Nervesa, and a Canon of Vicenza, for committing such sins, as I think not fit to name: Nor are these mentioned with an intent to fix a scandal upon any calling. For holiness is not tied to ecclesiastical orders, and Italy is observed to breed the most virtuous and most vicious men of any nation.—These two having been long complained of at Rome, in the name of the State of Venice, and no satisfaction being given to the Venetians, they seized the persons of this abbot and canon, and committed them to prison.

The justice or injustice of such, or the like power then used by the Venetians, had formerly had some calm debates betwixt the former Pope Clement VIII. and that Republic[c]: I say calm,

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[c] CLEMENT VIII. the admirer of Mr. Richard Hooker's vast erudition, was a munificent patron of learning, having promoted to the purple, Bellarmine, Baronius, and many other eminent scholars.

for he did not excommunicate them; considering, as I conceive, that in the late Council of Trent it was at last (after many politic disturbances and delays, and endeavours to preserve the Pope's present power) in order to a general reformation of those many errors, which were in time crept into the church, declared by the Council, "That though "discipline, and especial excommunication, be one "of the chief sinews of church-government, and "intended to keep men in obedience to it; for "which end it was declared to be very profitable: "Yet it was also declared, and advised to be used "with great sobriety and care; because experience "had informed them, that when it was pronounced

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scholars. Sir Henry Wotton in a letter to Lord Zouch, from Florence, July 27, 1592, gives us the following anecdote of this Pope. "The Pope (Clement VIII.) in this last general examination of the clergy in St. John Lateran hath deposed four "canonists of that church, the one for having 'Plutarch's Lives' "found on his table, the rest for failing in declining of nouns "and verbs." He has drawn his character in another letter to the same same nobleman, May 8, 1592; and in a letter from Florence, July 31, 1592, he declares, that Clement had "la "santita di Pio quarto, la prudentia di Gregorii XIII. et la "severita di Sisto V."——Leo XI. the immediate successor of Clement VIII. died on the 29th day of his pontificate. Upon his death, Paul V. was advanced to the Papal dignity, in preference to two learned antagonists, Bellarmine and Baronius—a pontiff of a haughty, vindictive, and violent spirit, who, as hath already been observed, disgraced his character by an express approbation of the doctrine of SUAREZ the Jesuit, in defence of "The Murder of Kings."

"unadvisedly or rashly, it became more con-
"temned than feared[d]." And, though this was the advice of that Council at the conclusion of it, which was not many years before this quarrel with the Venetians, yet this prudent patient Pope Clement dying, Pope Paul V. who succeeded him (though not immediately, yet in the same year), being a man of a much hotter temper, brought this difference with the Venetians to a much higher contention; objecting those late acts of that State, to be a diminution of his just power, and limited a time of twenty-four days for their revocation; threatening, if he were not obeyed, to proceed to the excommunication of the Republic, who still offered to show both reason and ancient custom to warrant their actions. But this Pope, contrary to his predecessor's moderation, required absolute obedience without disputes.

Thus it continued for about a year: the Pope still threatening excommunication, and the Venetians still answering him with fair speeches, and no compliance; till at last the Pope's zeal to the Apostolic see did make him to excommunicate the Duke, the whole Senate, and all their dominions; and, that done, to shut up all their churches: charging the whole clergy to forbear all

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[d] "When it is denounced rashly for a small cause." *(History of the Council of Trent, translated by Sir Nathaniel Brent, p. 754.)* But see Father Courayer's remark on this passage in his elegant French version.

sacred offices to the Venetians, till their obedience should render them capable of absolution.

But this act of the Pope's did but the more confirm the Venetians in their resolution not to obey him. And to that end, upon the hearing of the Pope's interdict, they presently published, by sound of trumpet, a proclamation to this effect :—

" That whosoever hath received from Rome any " copy of a papal interdict, published there, as " well against the law of God as against the " honour of this nation, shall presently render it to " the Council of Ten upon pain of death [e]. And " made it loss of estate and nobility but to speak " in behalf of the Jesuits."

Then was Duado, their ambassador, called home from Rome, and the Inquisition presently suspended by order of the state: And the floodgates being thus set open, any man that had a pleasant or scoffing wit might safely vent it against the Pope, either by free speaking or by libels in print; and both became very pleasant to the people.

Matters thus heightened, the state advised with father Paul [f], a holy and learned friar, the author

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[e] The Venetians had at this time banished the Jesuits from their territories, because they had rendered themselves peculiarly obnoxious by their implicit adherence to the papal power.

[f] We have already had occasion to name this venerable ecclesiastic. The History of the Council of Trent was published as the Work of Pietro Soave Polano, the anagram of his name. His principal adversaries in the Venetian cause were Bellarmine and

of "The History of the Council of Trent," whose advice was, "Neither to provoke the Pope, nor "lose their own right;" he declaring publicly in print, in the name of the state, "That the Pope "was trusted to keep two keys, one of *prudence* "and the other of *power*; and that if they were "not both used together, *power* alone is not "effectual in an excommunication."

And thus these discontents and oppositions continued, till a report was blown abroad that the Venetians were all turned Protestants; which was believed by many: for that it was observed that the English Ambassador was so often in conference with the senate; and his chaplain, Mr. Bedel[s], more often with Father Paul, whom the people did not take to be his friend: And also, for that

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and Baronius, the two great champions of their church. It was said of Father Paul, that "He not only knew more than other "men, but that he knew better;" and that "he seemed to have "wisdom by habit." Attempts have been recently made by some modern writers among the *high Catholics*, as they are denominated, to depreciate the fame and invalidate the authority of this great man. These attempts are vain. His works will be held in veneration long after the names of his adversaries are sunk into oblivion.

[s] Afterward Bishop of Kilmore, in Ireland. During his residence at Venice for eight years, he contracted an intimate acquaintance with Father Paul, who taught him the Italian language, and who was much afflicted when Mr. Bedel returned to England, to whom at his departure he presented his picture, the MSS. of his History of the Council of Trent, his History of the Interdict and Inquisition, with other literary donations.

the Republic of Venice was known to give commission to Gregory Justiniano, then their ambassador in England, to make all these proceedings known to the King of England, and to crave a promise of his assistance, if need should require; and in the mean time they required the King's advice and judgment; which was the same that he gave to Pope Clement, at his first coming to the crown of England—(that Pope then moving him to an union with the Roman church):—namely, "To endeavour the calling of a free "Council for the settlement of peace in Christen-"dom; and that he doubted not but that the "French King, and divers other Princes, would "join to assist in so good a work; and in the mean "time the sin of this breach, both with his and the "Venetian dominions, must of necessity lie at the "Pope's door."

In this contention, which lasted almost two years, the Pope grew still higher, and the Venetians more and more resolved and careless; still acquainting King James with their proceedings, which was done by the help of Sir Henry Wotton, Mr. Bedel, and Padre Paulo, whom the Venetians did then call to be one of their consulters of state, and with his pen to defend their just cause: Which was by him so performed, that the Pope saw plainly he had weakened his power by exceeding it, and offered the Venetians absolution upon very easy terms; which the Venetians still slighting, did at last obtain by that which was scarce so

much as a show of acknowledging it. For they made an order, that in that day in which they were absolved, there should be no public rejoicing, nor any bonfires that night, lest the common people might judge that they desired an absolution, or were absolved for committing a fault [h].

These contests were the occasion of Padre Paulo's knowledge and interest with King James; for whose sake principally Padre Paulo compiled that eminent history of the remarkable Council of Trent; which history was, as fast as it was written, sent in several sheets in letters by Sir Henry Wotton, Mr. Bedel, and others, unto King James and the then Bishop of Canterbury, nto England; and there first made public

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[h] King James had written "A Premonition to all Christian Princes and States," in the Latin language. Sir Henry Wotton s much censured for having delayed to present it to the Senate f Venice, as there was no doubt but that it would have tended much to separate them entirely from the papal power. It was is intention to have produced it on St. James's day. Before hat day came, the difference between the Pope and the Republic ras made up: so that when he had his audience, all the answer e got was, "That they thanked the King of England for his 'good will, but that they were now reconciled to the Pope, and 'that therefore they were resolved not to admit any change in 'their religion, according to their agreement with the court of 'Rome."—(*Burnet's Life of Bedel, p.* 13, 14.)—It must be remembered that the above account is expressly contradicted by Dr. Hickes, who asserts, that the King's book, of which Bishop Burnet speaks, was not then extant. "The Pope and the Venetians 'were reconciled in April 1607, and the King's Premonition 'came not out until 1609."

both in English and in the universal language.

For eight years after Sir Henry Wotton's going into Italy, he stood fair and highly valued in the King's opinion, but at last became much clouded by an accident which I shall proceed to relate.

At his first going ambassador into Italy, as he passed through Germany, he stayed some days at Augusta, where having been, in his former travels, well known by many of the best note for learning and ingeniousness (those that are esteemed the virtuosi of that nation) with whom he, passing an evening in merriments, was requested by Christopher Flecamore to write some sentence in his Albo (a book of white paper which the German gentry usually carry about them for that purpose); and Sir Henry Wotton, consenting to the motion, took an occasion, from some accidental discourse of the present company, to write a pleasant definition of an ambassador, in these very words:

"Legatus est vir bonus peregrè missus ad mentiendum "reipublicæ causâ."

Which Sir Henry Wotton could have been content should have been thus Englished:

"An ambassador is an honest man, sent to *lie* abroad for the "good of his country."

But the word for lie, being the hinge upon which the conceit was to turn, was not so expressed in Latin, as would admit (in the hands of

an enemy especially) so fair a construction as Sir Henry thought in English[i]. Yet as it was, it slept quietly among other sentences in this Albo, almost eight years, till by accident it fell into the hands of Jasper Scioppius[k], a Romanist, a man of

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[i] This passage reminds me of a juvenile epigram written by Dr. Donne:

"A LAME BEGGAR.

"I am unable, yonder beggar cries,
"To stand or move; if he say true, he *lies*."

[k] A person much celebrated for his intense application to study, the quickness of his parts, his memory, his eloquence, and the multitude of books which he composed. His great qualities were debased by a want of probity and moderation. He was born at Neumark, in the higher Palatinate, in 1576. On reading the Annals of Cardinal Baronius, he abjured the Protestant religion in 1599, and was admitted into the community of the Church of Rome. He wrote with much asperity of language against the Jesuits, against Joseph Scaliger, Casaubon, and other learned men, not sparing even Cicero and the best writers of antiquity. He attacked James I. of England. To truth he paid little regard, being more inclined to calumniate his adversary, by the most disgraceful arts of defamation, than to refute him by just and solid reasoning. The very titles of his books discover the acrimony of his temper. "Scorpiacum sive remedium contra "Protestantium hæreses ex ip orum scriptis petitum, adversum "Jacobum Regem Britanniæ ," 1612.—"Collyrium re- "gium Britanniæ Regi gravi ex oculis laboranti muneri "missum," 1611. His writir excited such resentment against him, that he was alarmed for his personal safety, and fled to Padua, where he died in 1649.—(*Dictionnaire Historique*).—In the prologue to "Ignoramus," spoken before James I. at Cambridge, May 6, 1615, Scioppius is censured with great severity of lang age for his treatment of Sir Henry Wotton.

a restless spirit and a malicious pen; who, with books against King James, prints this as a principle of that religion professed by the King, and his Ambassador Sir Henry Wotton, then at Venice: and in Venice it was presently after written in several glass-windows, and spitefully declared to Sir Henry Wotton's.

This coming to the knowledge of King James, he apprehended it to be such an oversight, such a weakness, or worse, in Sir Henry Wotton, as caused the King to express much wrath against him; and this caused Sir Henry Wotton to write two Apologies, one to Velserus[l] (one of the Chiefs of Augusta) in the universal language, which he caused to be printed, and given and scattered in the most remarkable places both of Germany and Italy, as an antidote[m] against the venomous books of Scioppius; and another Apology to King

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[l] Mark Velser, or Welser, was born at Augsburg, June 20, 1558, of a noble and ancient German family. He pursued his studies at Rome under the celebrated Muretus, and upon his return into his native city, having acquired great reputation at the bar, became one of its first magistrates, and was very learned himself, and a great patron of learned men. (*Dictionnaire Historique*, 1777.)

[m] In this letter, written with truly classic elegance, Scioppius is treated with a harshness, which, though probably deserved by him, does not perfectly quadrate with the character of a scholar. "Cum famelicus, transfuga, & Romanæ Curiæ lutulentus circu-" lator scriptitat solùm ut prandere possit; cùm semicoctus " grammaticaster, &c. &c."

James: Which were both so ingenious, so clear, and so choicely eloquent, that his Majesty (who was a pure judge of it) could not forbear, at the receipt thereof, to declare publicly, that "Sir "Henry Wotton had commuted sufficiently for a "greater offence [n]."

And now, as broken bones, well set, become stronger; so Sir Henry Wotton did not only recover, but was much more confirmed in his Majesty's estimation and favour than formerly he had been.

And as that man of great wit and useful fancy (his friend Dr. Donne) gave in a will of his (a will of conceits [o]), his reputation to his friends, and his industry to his foes, because from thence he received both: So those friends, that in this time of trial laboured to excuse this facetious freedom of Sir Henry Wotton's were to him more dear, and

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[n] After his first return from Venice he remained without any employment for five years. It may be inferred from a letter to Sir Edmund Bacon, dated June 8, 1614, and printed in the "Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 431," that Sir Henry Wotton was at that time a member of the House of Commons.

[o] The passage to which Isaac Walton alludes, is in a poem of Dr. Donne's, entitled "The Will."

"I give my reputation to those
"Which were my friends; mine industry to foes;
"To schoolmen I bequeath my doubtfulness;
"My sickness to physicians, or excess;
"To Nature all that I in rhyme have writ,
"And to my company my wit."

by him more highly valued. And those acquaintance, that urged this as an advantage against him, caused him by this error to grow both more wise, and (which is the best fruit error can bring forth), for the future, to become more industriously watchful over his tongue and pen [p].

I have told you a part of his employment in Italy; where, notwithstanding the death of his favourer, the Duke Leonardo Donato, who had an undissembled affection for him, and the malicious accusation of Scioppius; yet his interest, as though it had been an intailed love, was still found

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[p] The meaning of this obscure passage may probably be elucidated by the following paraphrase. "And as Sir Henry "Wotton's friend, Dr. Donne, gave in a will of his (a will re- "plete with facetiousness) his reputation to his friends, and his "industry to his foes; because from thence (that is, from them, "from his friends and foes), he received both, namely, reputa- "tion from his friends, and industry from his foes; so those "friends, who in this time of trial laboured to excuse this in- "stance of Sir Henry Wotton's facetious freedom, became more "dear to Sir Henry, and by him more highly valued, and those "acquaintance, who censured him for the sentence which he had "inserted in the Album, malignantly urged that circumstance "to his disadvantage, by such enmity taught him wisdom, "caused him by this error or indiscretion to grow more wise; "and, which is the best fruit error can bring forth, for the "future to become more industriously watchful over his tongue "and pen."

Whether I am praised or blamed, says a Chinese sage, I make it of use to my advancement in virtue. Those who commend me I conceive to point out the way I ought to go; those who blame me, as telling me the dangers I have run.

to live and increase in all the succeeding Dukes, during his employment to that state, which was almost twenty years: all which time he studied the dispositions of those Dukes, and the other consulters of state; well knowing that he who negociates a continued business, and neglects the study of dispositions, usually fails in his proposed ends. But in this Sir Henry Wotton did not fail; for by a fine sorting of fit presents, curious and not costly entertainments, always sweetened by various and pleasant discourse—with which, and his choice application of stories, and his elegant delivery of all these, even in their Italian language, he first got, and still preserved, such interest in the state of Venice, that it was observed (such was either his merit or his modesty) they never denied him any request.

But all this shows but his abilities and his fitness for that employment: It will therefore be needful to tell the reader, what use he made of that interest which these procured him. And that indeed was rather to oblige others than to enrich himself; he still endeavouring that the reputation of the English might be maintained, both in the German Empire and in Italy: where many gentlemen, whom travel had invited into that nation, received from him cheerful entertainments, advice for their behaviour; and by his interest, shelter or deliverance from those accidental storms of adversity which usually attend upon travel.

And because these things may appear to the reader to be but generals, I shall acquaint him with two particular examples; one of his merciful disposition, and one of the nobleness of his mind; which shall follow.

There had been many English soldiers brought by commanders of their own country to serve the Venetians for pay against the Turks: And those English having by irregularities or improvidence brought themselves into several galleys and prisons, Sir Henry Wotton became a petitioner to that state for their lives and enlargement; and his request was granted: so that those (which were many hundreds, and there made the sad examples of human misery, by hard imprisonment and unpitied poverty in a strange nation) were by his means released, relieved, and in a comfortable condition sent to thank God and him for their lives and liberty in their own country.

And this I have observed as one testimony of the compassionate nature of him, who was, during his stay in those parts, as a city of refuge for the distressed of this and other nations.

And for that which I offer as a testimony of the nobleness of his mind, I shall make way to the reader's clearer understanding of it, by telling him, that beside several other foreign employments[q], Sir Henry Wotton was sent thrice Am-

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[q] In 1615 he was Ambassador to the United Provinces.
(*Reliq. Wotton.* p. 428.)

bassador to the Republic of Venice[r]. And at his last going thither he was employed Ambassador to several of the German Princes, and more particularly to the Emperor Ferdinando II.; and that his employment to him, and those Princes, was to incline them to equitable conditions, for the restoration of the Queen of Bohemia, and her descendants, to their patrimonial inheritance of the Palatinate.

This was by his eight month's constant endeavours and attendance upon the Emperor, his court and council, brought to a probability of a successful conclusion without bloodshed. But there was at that time two opposite armies in the field, and as they were treating, there was a battle fought[s]; in the managery whereof, there were so many miserable errors on the one side—(so Sir Henry Wotton expresses it in a dispatch to the King),—and so advantageous events to the Emperor, as put an end to all present hopes of a successful treaty. So that Sir Henry, seeing the face of a peace altered by that victory, prepared for a removal from that court; and at his departure from the Emperor, was so bold as to remember him, "That the events of every "battle move on the unseen wheels of Fortune,

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[r] In 1604, 1615, and 1621.

[s] The fatal battle near Prague in November 1620, when the Prince of Anhault, General to the King of Bohemia, was, with his whole army, totally defeated.

" which are this moment up, and down the
" and therefore humbly advised him to u
" victory so soberly, as still to put on th
" of peace." Which vice, though it seem
be spoken with some passion (his dear m
the Queen of Bohemia[1] being concerned
was yet taken in good part by the Em
who replied, " That he would consider his a
" And though he looked on the King his r
" as an abetter of his enemy the Paulsgrave

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[1] The following verses were wrote by Sir Henry Wotto
his Mistress, the Queen of Bohemia:"

" You meaner *beauties* of the *night*,
" That poorly satisfy our *eyes*
" More by your *number* than your *light*,
" You common people of the skies,
" What are you when the sun shall rise?

" You curious chanters of the wood,
" That warble forth *dame Nature's* lays,
" Thinking your voices understood
" By your weak *accents*; what's your praise,
" When *Philomel* her voice shall raise?

" You *violets* that first appear,
" By your *pure purple mantles* known,
" Like the proud *virgins* of the *year*,
" As if the *spring* were all your own,
" What are you when the *rose is blown*?

" So when *my mistress* shall be *seen*,
" In *form* and *beauty* of her *mind*,
" By *virtue* first, then *choice* a Queen,
" Tell me, if *she* were not design'd
" The *eclipse* and *glory of her kind*."

"for Sir Henry himself, his behaviour had been "such during the manage of the treaty, that he "took him to be a person of much honour and "merit, and did therefore desire him to accept "that jewel, as a testimony of his good opinion "of him:" Which was a jewel of diamonds of more value than a thousand pounds.

This jewel was received with all outward circumstances and terms of honour by Sir Henry Wotton. But the next morning, at his departing from Vienna, he, at his taking leave of the Countess of Sabrina, an Italian lady, in whose house the Emperor had appointed him to be lodged and honourably entertained, acknowledged her merits, and besought her to accept of that jewel, as a testimony of his gratitude for her civilities; presenting her with the same that was given him by the Emperor. Which being suddenly discovered, and told to the Emperor, was by him taken for a high affront, and Sir Henry Wotton told so by a messenger. To which he replied, "that though he received it with thank-"fulness, yet he found in himself an indisposition "to be the better for any gift that came from "an enemy to his Royal Mistress, the Queen of "Bohemia;" for so she was pleased he should always call her.

Many other of his services to his Prince and this nation might be insisted upon; as namely, his procurations of privileges and courtesies with the German Princes and the Republic of Venice.

for the English merchants; and what he did by direction of King James with the Venetian State, concerning the Bishop of Spalato's* return to the Church of Rome. But for the particulars of these, and many more that I meant to make known, I want a view of some papers that might inform

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*Marcus Antonius de Dominis, Archbishop of Spalato in the territory of Venice, to whom we are obliged for the introduction of the celebrated "History of the Council of Trent" into this kingdom. Having abandoned the religion in which he was educated, he came into England in the beginning of the reign of James I. and continued there to the year 1622. The University of Cambridge, at their commencement in 1617, paid the most flattering attention to him, while he experienced many signal instances of kindness from the King. Yet the fickleness of his disposition, and, as some have affirmed, his vanity and avarice, soon lost him all credit. Upon the promotion of Gregory XV. his friend and relation, to the Popedom, he was artfully persuaded by Gondamar, the Spanish Ambassador, to return to Rome, where he publicly renounced his errors, and was again admitted into the bosom of the church. He is said also to have left England with a view to convoke a general council, having entertained hopes of composing matters of religion by such a measure. The Pope at first treated him with respect: He was however soon delivered to the Inquisition, and imprisoned in the Castle of Angelo, on suspicion of heresy; and it is suggested that he was there poisoned.—— Different accounts indeed are given of the miserable exit of this irresolute man on his return to Rome; yet most writers agree, that by an order of the Inquisition he was declared to be a relapsed heretic, and that, after his death, his body was publicly burnt.

"In 1617 the Archbishop of Spatalo, a convert, came into England, and preached, wrote, and railed against Rome, "until

me, (his late Majesty's letter-office having now suffered a strange alienation), and indeed I want time too; for the printer's press stays for what is written: so that I must haste to bring Sir Henry Wotton in an instant from Venice to London; leaving the reader to make up what

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"until he was made Dean of Windsor, and Master of the "Savoy: Afterward he returned to Rome, and recanted there: "as bitterly reproaching the Protestant doctrine, as here he "had extolled it: And his end was in a prison." (*Welwood's "Memorials, &c. p. 296.*)

He hurt the cause of Rome more by his pen, than by the defection of his person: His learned books entitled, "De Republicâ Ecclesiasticâ" being still unanswered. Of the zeal which he once displayed against Popery, we may form some opinion from the story related by Lord Bacon. Bishop Andrews being asked at the first coming over of the Archbishop of Spalato, whether he was a *Protestant* or no? answered, "Truly I know not; but I think he is *Detestant*, viz. of most "of the opinions of Rome." And in a print of this prelate engraved by Sparke, is an inscription, expressive of his strong aversion to the doctrines of that church which he had abjured.

"Welcome, grave primate, from th' erroneous holde
"Of Romish Babel into Christ his folde:
"Thy learned workes the beast shall deadly wound,
"Confute his errors, and his pride confound,
"Therefore converted (under Faith's defender)
"Strengthen thy brethren, and confirm the tender."

Bishop Burnet in his "Life of Bedel" has observed, that De Dominis was utterly ignorant of the Greek Tongue, and that Mr. Bedel, when Chaplain to Sir Henry Wotton at Venice, corrected many ill applications of texts of scripture and quotations of fathers, in his work, "De Republicâ Ecclesiasticâ."

The

is defective in this place, by the small supplement of the inscription under his arms, which he left at all those houses where he rested, or lodged, when he returned from his last Embassy into England.

"Henricus Wottonius Anglo-Cantianus, Thomæ "optimi viri filius natu minimus, à serenissimo "Jacobo I. Mag. Brit. Rege, in equestrem titulum "adscitus, ejusdemque ter ad Rempublicam Ve-"netam Legatus Ordinarius, semel ad Confœde-"ratarum Provinciarum Ordines in Juliacensi "negotio. Bis ad Carolum Emanuel, Sabaudiæ "Ducem; semel ad unitos superioris Germaniæ

The opinion usually entertained concerning the conduct of "De Dominis," upon his return to Rome, is less favourable to his character than he deserves, if we may judge from the narrative of Dr. John Cosin, Bishop of Durham, in his "History of Transubstantiation," C. II. § vii. We are assured, that on his departure from England, he left in writing this memorable declaration: "I am resolved, even with the danger of my life, to profess before the Pope himself, that the Church of England is a true and Orthodox Church of Christ." This he not only promised, but faithfully performed. He could never be persuaded by the Jesuits or others, either to subscribe to the *new-devised* tenets of the Council of Trent, or to retract those orthodox books which he had printed in England and Germany, or to renounce the Communion of the Church of England, in whose defence he constantly persisted to the very last.

It should never be forgotten that he acquired considerable reputation in the philosophical world, by his explanation of the phænomena of the rainbow, in his book, "De Radiis Visûs et Lucis."

"Principes in Conventu Heilbrunensi, postremò
"ad Archiducem Leopoldum, Ducem Wittem-
"bergensem, Civitates Imperiales, Argentinam,
"Ulmamque, et ipsum Romanorum Imperatorem
"Ferdinandum Secundum, Legatus Extraordina-
"rius, tandem hoc didicit,

"Animas fieri sapientiores quiescendo."

To London he came the year before King James died; who having, for the reward of his foreign service, promised him the reversion of an office which was fit to be turned into present money, which he wanted, for a supply of his present necessities, and also granted him the reversion of the Master of the Rolls place, if he outlived charitable Sir Julius Cæsar[x], who then

[x] Sir JULIUS CÆSAR alias ADELMARE, the eldest son of Cæsar Dalmarius, an Italian physician to Queen Mary and to Queen Elizabeth. His bounty was so extensive, that he might be called "The Almoner General of the Nation." He printed a catalogue of the books, parchments, and papers belonging to the Court of Requests, in quarto, of singular use to antiquaries, but now almost as scarce as the MSS. themselves. (*Peck's Desid. Cur. lib.* xiv. *p.* 17.)

"It was not," says Lloyd in his State Worthies, p. 935, "without a prosperous omen that his chief house in Hertford-"shire was called Benington, that is *villa benigna*, as one author "will have it, or as another, *villa beneficii*, the Town of Good "Turns, from the river so named running by it."

This venerable lawyer died April 28, 1639, in the 79th year of his age. He lies buried in great St. Helen's church, London, under a monument, having an inscription in the form of a deed with a seal to it, importing "That he was willing to pay his debt to nature whenever God pleased." (*Biogr. Brit.*)

possessed it, and then grown so old that he was said to be kept alive beyond nature's course by the prayers of those many poor which he daily relieved.

But these were but in hope, and his condition required a present support: For in the beginning of these employments he sold to his elder brother, the Lord Wotton, the rent-charge left by his good father, and, which is worse, was now at his return indebted to several persons, whom he was not able to satisfy but by the King's payment of his arrears due for his foreign employments. He had brought into England many servants, of which some were German and Italian artists; this was part of his condition, who had many times hardly sufficient to supply the occasions of the day: For it may by no means be said of his providence, as himself said of Sir Philip Sidney's wit, "That it was the very measure of congruity," he being always so careless of money, as though our Saviour's words "Care not for to-morrow" were to be literally understood.

But it pleased the God of Providence that in this juncture of time the Provostship of his Majesty's College of Eaton became void by the death

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[1] Archbishop Laud, in the account of his province of Canterbury, sent to the King for the year 1624, gives this honourable testimony to Sir Henry Wotton's conduct in the government of his college:—"For Eaton College within that diocese (of "Lincoln), I do not find but that the Provost Sir Henry "Wotton, hath carried himself very worthily."

of Mr. Thomas Murray[z], for which there were (as the place deserved) many earnest and powerful suitors[a] to the King. And Sir Henry, who had for many years (like Sisyphus) rolled the restless stone of a state employment, knowing experimentally that the great blessing of sweet content was not to be found in multitudes of men or business, and that a College was the fittest place to nourish holy thoughts, and to afford rest both to his body

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[z] The successor of Sir Henry Savile in the Provostship of Eaton College. He was a native of Scotland, Tutor and Secretary to Prince Charles. His zeal in opposing the marriage of the Prince with the Infanta of Spain, occasioned his imprisonment for sometime, along with Dr. George Hackwell, Archdeacon of Surry, the author of "A Discourse against the Spanish Match." He died April 1, 1623. In the Cabala is a letter from Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, on the appointment of Murray to the Provostship of Eaton. In this letter he complains of "The dispensation given to him, who was a mere "layman, to hold a place which was a living with cure of "souls," and hints a suspicion of his being averse to the church government, as established in England.

[a] Among other unsuccessful candidates at this time was the great Lord Bacon, as appears from a letter written by him to Mr. Secretary Conway, dated Grey's Inn, March 25, 1623. And Dr. Birch has given the following extract from an unpublished letter of the Lord Keeper Williams to the Marquis of Buckingham, dated April 11, 1623. "Mr. Murray, the "Provost of Eaton, is now dead: The place stayed by the "Fellows and myself, until your Lordship's pleasure be known. "Whomsoever your Lordship shall name I shall like of, though "it be Sir William Becker, though this Provostship never "descended so low. The King named unto me yesterday

 "morning

and mind, which his age (being now almost threescore years) seemed to require, did therefore use his own and the interest of all his friends to procure that place. By which means, and quitting the King of his promised reversionary offices, and a piece of honest policy (which I have not time to relate) he got a grant[b] of it from his Majesty.

And this was a fair satisfaction to his mind: But money was wanting[c] to furnish him with

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"morning Sir Albertus Morton, Sir Dudley Carlton, and "Sir Robert Ayton, our late Queen's Secretary. But in my "opinion, though he named him last, his Majesty inclined to "this Ayton most. It will rest wholly upon your Lordship "to name the man. It is somewhat necessary he be a good "scholar, but more that he be a good husband, and a careful "manager, and a stayed man, which no man can be that "is so much indebted as the Lord St. Alban's." *(Bacon's Works, vol. iii. p. 636.)*

[b] He was instituted to the Provostship July 26, 1624, having obtained the appointment by surrendering a grant of the reversion of the Mastership of the Rolls, and of another office. The value of this preferment in the reign of Henry VIII. is known from the following story: Sir Thomas Wyat one day told the King, that he found out a living of one hundred pounds in the year more than enough, and prayed him to bestow it on him. "Truly," said the King, "we have no such in "England." "Yes, Sir," said Sir Thomas, "the Provostship "of Eaton, where a man has his diet, his lodging, his horse-"meat, his servants' wages, his riding charges, and 100*l.* per "annum besides." *(Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 79.)*

[c] When he went to the election at Eaton, soon after he was made Provost, he was so ill provided that the Fellows of his College

those necessaries which attend removes and a settlement in such a place; and to procure that, he wrote to his old friend Mr. Nicholas Pey[d] for his assistance. Of which Nicholas Pey I shall here say a little for the clearing of some passages that I shall mention hereafter.

He was in his youth a clerk, or in some such way a servant to the Lord Wotton, Sir Henry's brother; and by him, when he was Comptroller of

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College were obliged to furnish his bare walls, and whatever else was wanting. In a letter to the Duke of Buckingham, after his return from his last ambassage to Venice, he thus writes: "I am left utterly destitute of all possibility to subsist "at home: Much like those seal-fishes, which sometimes, as "they say, oversleeping themselves in an ebbing water, feel "nothing about them in a dry shore when they are awake."

(Reliq. Wotton. p. 320.)

[d] Of whom Sir Henry Wotton writes in a letter to the Duke of Buckingham from Venice: "That he is his friend of trust to him at home in "all his occasions." In other letters he always mentions him in language full of respect. The name of this faithful servant, thus transmitted to posterity in the page of Isaac Walton, will ever be remembered with honour.

"Oh good old man! how well in thee appears
"The constant service of the antique world,
"When servants sweat for duty, not for meed.
"Thou art not for the fashion of these times
"Where none will sweat but for promotion,
"And having that, do choke their service up
"Even with the having. It is not so with thee."

(Shakspeare's As You Like It, act II. scene III.)

the King's Household, was made a great officer[e] in his Majesty's House. This and other favours being conferred upon Mr. Pey, *in whom there was a radical honesty*, were always thankfully acknowledged by him, and his gratitude expressed by a willing and unwearied serviceableness to that family even till his death. To him Sir Henry Wotton wrote to use all his interest at court, to procure five hundred pounds of his arrears (for less would not settle him in the College), and the want of such a sum *wrinkled his face with care*—(it was his own expression);—and that money being procured, he should the next day after find him in his College, and "Invidiæ remedium" written over his study-door[f].

This money, being part of his arrears, was by his own, and the help of honest Nicholas Pey's interest in court, quickly procured him, and he as quickly in the College: the place where indeed his happi—

[e] One of the Clerks of the King's Kitchen.

[f] See this letter in "Reliquiæ Wottonianæ," p. 359.

[g] Yet, in a letter to the King in 1628, he requests that, when the Rolls are disposed of, his Majesty would be pleased to reserve for him some small proportion towards the discharge of such debts as he had contracted in public service, and next to promise him the next good Deanery that shall be vacant by death or remove. (*Reliq. Wott. p.* 563.)——And we find him in 1637, as a poor suppliant unto the King to confer upon him the Mastership of the Savoy, in case Dr. Beleanquel, his good friend, shall be removed to the Deanery of Durham. (*Ibid. p.* 340.)

ess then seemed to have its beginning. The ollege being to his mind as a quiet harbour to a afaring-man after a tempestuous voyage; where, y the bounty of the pious founder, his very food nd raiment were plentifully provided for him in ind, and more money than enough; where he was eed from all corroding cares, and seated on such a ock, as the waves of want could not probably nake; where he might sit in a calm, and, oking down, behold the busy multitude turoiled and tossed in a tempestuous sea of trouble nd dangers[h]; and, as Sir William Davenant[i]

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[h] "Suave mari magno turbantibus æquora ventis
"E terrâ alterius magnum spectare laborem." LUCRET.

[i] Sir WILLIAM DAVENANT, born at Oxford in 1605, and called r Anthony Wood "The sweet Swan of Isis," was chosen Poetureat on the death of Ben Jonson. He attached himself to the yal cause, and entering upon a military life, received the honour Knighthood for his behaviour at the siege of Gloucester in 641. Having embarked on board a ship to go to Virginia, he as captured by a man of war belonging to the Parliament, and urried prisoner to the Isle of Wight. During his confinement e retained his natural vivacity of temper, and employed his time completing his epic poem of Gondibert. It is generally supposed that he owed the preservation of his life to the kind interrence of Milton. He had afterward an opportunity of conferring e same favour on our immortal bard. At the restoration he erted himself in improving the scenery and decorations of the age. His dramatic works are numerous. He died in April 668, and was interred in Westminster Abbey, near the poet lay, who was his rival for the laurel.

has happily expressed the like of another person,.....

> "Laugh at the graver business of the state,
> "Which speaks men rather wise than fortunate."

Being thus settled according to the desires of his heart, his first study[k] was the statutes of the College, by which he conceived himself bound[l] to enter into Holy Orders, which he did, being made Deacon with all convenient speed. Shortly after which time, as he came in his surplice from the

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[k] Previous to this he published his "Elements of Architecture;" a work of very great merit, and in reality the best upon that subject that had then appeared in the English language.

[l] Though the King had actually granted a dispensation to hold the Provostship without going into Orders, Sir Henry Wotton was ordained Deacon in 1627. In the "Reliq. Wottonianæ," p. 323, 327, are two letters to the King—one to make known his intention of entering into Orders; the other to inform his Majesty that he had *taken the degree of Deacon.* Sir Henry Savile and Mr. Murray, the predecessors of Sir Henry Wotton, were both laymen. And it is well known, that upon the death of Dr. John Meredith, the great and good Mr. Boyle was in 1665 nominated to the Provostship of this College, but that his objection to entering into Holy Orders was a principal motive that induced him to decline the honour. Mr. Edmund Waller was more than once a candidate for this office. The King, Charles II. referred his petition to the Council, "Who, after hearing the "question argued by lawyers for three days, determined that the "office could be held only by a clergyman, according to the act "of uniformity; since the Provosts had always received institu-"tion, as for a parsonage, from the Bishop of Lincoln." *See Dr. Johnson's Works, vol. IX. p. 256.*

church-service, an old friend, a person of quality, met him so attired, and joyed him of his new habit: To whom Sir Henry Wotton replied, "I "thank God and the King by whose goodness I "now am in this condition;—a condition which "that Emperor Charles V. seemed to approve; "who after so many remarkable victories, when "his glory was great in the eyes of all men, freely "gave up his crown, and the many cares that "attended it, to Philip his son, making a holy "retreat to a cloisteral life, where he might by de-"vout meditations consult with God,"—which the rich or busy men seldom do,—"and have leisure "both to examine the errors of his life past, and "prepare for that great day wherein all flesh must "make an account of their actions. And after a "kind of tempestuous life I now have the like "advantage from him, '*that makes the outgoings* "*of the morning to praise him;*' even from my "God, whom I daily magnify for this particular "mercy of an exemption from business, a quiet "mind and a liberal maintenance, even in this "part of my life, when my age and infirmities "seem to sound me a retreat from the pleasures of "this world, and invite me to contemplation, in "which I have ever taken the greatest felicity."

And now to speak a little of the employment of his time in the College. After his customary public devotions, his use was to retire into his study, and there to spend some hours in reading the bible and authors in divinity, closing up his

meditations with private prayer. This was, for the most part, his employment in the forenoon. But when he was once sat to dinner, then nothing but cheerful thoughts possessed his mind, and those still increased by constant company at his table of such persons as brought thither additions both of learning and pleasure; but some part of most days was usually spent in philosophical conclusions. Nor did he forget his innate pleasure of angling [m], which he would usually call "His idle "time not idly spent;" saying often, "He would "rather live five May months than forty Decem-"bers."

He was a great lover of his neighbours, and a bountiful entertainer of them very often at his table; where his meat was choice, and his discourse better.

He was a constant cherisher of all those youths in that school, in whom he found either a constant diligence or a genius that prompted them to learning. For whose encouragement he was (besides many other things of necessity and beauty) at the

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[m] Angling was the favourite diversion of Mr. Isaac Walton, who, from his superior skill in the art, was called "the Father of Anglers." His treatise of "The Complete Angler," will be always read with pleasure even by those who have no relish for "the fly and the cork." In his preface to this work he informs us, "That Sir Henry Wotton had declared to him his intentions "of writing a Discourse of the Art, and in praise of Angling." This he doubtless would have done, if death had not prevented him.

charge of setting up in it two rows of pillars, on which he caused to be choicely drawn the pictures of divers of the most famous Greek and Latin historians, poets, and orators: persuading them not to neglect rhetoric, because "Almighty God "has left mankind affections to be wrought upon." And he would often say, "That none despised "eloquence but such dull souls as were not capable "of it." He would also often make choice of some observations out of those historians and poets; and would never leave the school without dropping some choice Greek or Latin apophthegm or sentence that might be worthy of a room in the memory of a growing scholar [n].

He was pleased constantly to breed up one or more hopeful youths, which he picked out of the school and took into his own domestic care, and to attend him at his meals; out of whose discourse and behaviour he gathered observations for the better completing of his intended work of

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[n] His singular attention to the education of the young nobility and gentry, who were sent to Eaton, tended much to recommend the school. Mr. Boyle, who wrote the history of the earlier period of his own life, under the fictitious name of "Philaretus," tells us, that he and his elder brother were sent "To be bred up "at Eaton college near Windsor, whose Provost at that time "was Sir Henry Wotton, a person that was not only a fine gen-"tleman himself, but very well skilled in the art of making "others so; betwixt whom and the Earl of Corke, an ancient "friendship had been constantly cultivated by reciprocal civili-"ties."

(Birch's Life of the Honourable Robert Boyle, Esq. p. 23.)

education: of which, by his still striving to make the whole better, he lived to leave but part to posterity [o].

He was a great enemy to wrangling disputes of religion [p]: concerning which I shall say a little, both to testify that, and to show the readiness of his wit.

Having at his being in Rome made acquaintance with a pleasant priest, who invited him one evening to hear their vesper-music at church: The priest seeing Sir Henry stand obscurely in a corner, sends to him by a boy of the choir this question, written in a small piece of paper, "Where "was your religion to be found before Luther?" To which question Sir Henry presently underwrit, "My religion was to be found then, where "yours is not to be found now, in the written "word of God [q]."

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[o] A small fragment of this work, under the title of "A Philosophical Survey of Education of Moral Architecture," is extant in the Reliquiæ Wottonianæ.

[p] The proposition inscribed on his monument, "Disputandi "pruritus ecclesiarum scabies," is too strongly verified in the annals of history.

[q] When this question was proposed to the learned Mr. Joseph Mede, he answered with his usual festivity by another question, "Where was the fine flour when the wheat went to the mill?" And sometimes thus, "Where was the meal before the corn was "ground?" *See Dr. Clerk's Sermons, vol. III. p.* 323.

Bishop Bedel wrote a very long treatise on these two questions —"Where was the reformed church before Luther's time?" and "What was the fate of those who died in the bosom of the "church

The next vesper, Sir Henry went purposely to the same church, and sent one of the choir-boys with this question to his honest pleasant friend the priest: "Do you believe all those many thousands "of poor Christians were damned that were ex-"communicated because the Pope and the Duke "of Venice could not agree about their temporal "power? even those poor Christians that knew "not why they quarrelled? Speak your con-science." To which he underwrit in French, "Monsieur, excusez-moi."

To one that asked him, "Whether a Papist "may be saved?" he replied, "You may be saved "without knowing that:—Look to yourself."

To another whose earnestness exceeded his knowledge, and was still railing against the Papists, he gave this advice; "Pray, Sir, forbear, till you "have studied the points better: for the wise "Italians have this proverb[r], He that understands "amiss concludes worse. And take heed of think-"ing, The farther you go from the Church of "Rome, the nearer you are to God."

And to another that spake indiscreet and bitter words against Arminius, I heard him reply to this purpose:

"In my travel towards Venice, as I passed

"church before the reformation?" Archbishop Usher often urged him to publish this work, which was lost in that scene of confusion which attended the Irish rebellion.

[r] "Chi mal intende, peggio decide."

" through Germany, I rested almost a year at
" Leyden, where I entered into an acquaintance
" with Arminius[s], then Professor of Divinity in
" that University; a man much talked of in this
" age, which is made up of opposition and con-
" troversy. And indeed, if I mistake not Arminius
" in his expressions (as so weak a brain as mine is
" may easily do), then I know I differ from him in
" some points: Yet I profess my judgment of him
" to be, that he was a man of most rare learning,
" and I knew him to be of a most strict life, and
" of a most meek spirit. And that he was so mild,
" appears by his proposals to our Master Perkins[t]

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[s] How different is the language of King James, who hesitates not to pronounce Arminius " A seditious and heretical preacher, " an infector of Leyden with heresy, and an enemy of God." The condemnation of Arminianism at the Synod of Dort, is principally to be attributed to James, whilst with an inconsistency, which it will be difficult to defend, he protected the Arminian party in his own kingdom. Of Arminius and his opinions, see " Brandt's History of the Reformation abridged," p. 267.

How much the Arminians were favoured, appears from the following incident. Mr. Morley, afterward Bishop of Winchester, remarkable for his facetiousness and jocular sayings, being asked by a grave country gentleman, who was desirous to be instructed what their tenets and opinions were, " What the Arminians held?" pleasantly answered, " That they held all the best " Bishoprics and Deaneries in England:" Which was quickly reported abroad, as Mr. Morley's definition of the Arminian tenets. *(Life of Edward Earl of Clarendon. Oxford, p. 26.)*

[t] Mr. William Perkins, of Christ College in the University of Cambridge, where he died in 1602. He was minister of

St.

of Cambridge, from whose book, 'Of the Order and Causes of Salvation' (which was first written in Latin), Arminius took the occasion of writing some queries to him concerning the consequences of his doctrine; intending them, it is said, to come privately to Mr. Perkins' own hands; and to receive from him a like private and a like loving answer. But Mr. Perkins died before those

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Andrew's parish, in Cambridge, and had the character of a rned, pious, and laborious preacher. "His life," says Fuller, was so pious, so spotless, that malice was afraid to bite at his redit, into which she knew her teeth could not enter." Dr. chard Montague, his fellow collegian, and afterwards Bishop of inchester, preached his funeral sermon, taking for his text, *Moses my servant is dead.*" It was the wish of Archbishop ther, that he might die like Mr. Perkins, who expired crying mercy and forgive ıess. His works, which were dispersed rough Great Britain, France, Germany, the Low Countries, d Spain, many of them being translated into the French, rman, and Italian tongues, are declared to be equal in point of guage, to those of the best authors. His humility, as a acher, was eminent, in condescending to the capacity of his nest auditors. His church at Cambridge was frequented by e inhabitants of the town as well as the members of the iversity; and "The scholar could hear no learneder, or the townsman plainer sermon." See a Portrait of this good man *Fuller's Abel Redivivus, p.* 431.

"That worthy pair of our late divines, Greenham and Perkins; whereof the one excelled in experimental divinity, and knew well how to stay a weak conscience, how to raise a fallen, how to strike a remorseless; the other in a distinct judgment, and a rare dexterity in clearing the obscure subtilities of the school, and easy explication of the most perplexed discourses." *(Bishop all's First Decad of Epistles. Ep. 7.)*

"queries came to him, and it is thought Arminius
"meant them to die with him. For though he
"lived long after, I have heard he forbore to pub-
"lish them—but since his death his sons did not.
"And it is a pity, if God had been so pleased,
"that Mr. Perkins did not live to see, consider, and
"answer those proposals himself; for he was also
"of a most meek spirit, and of great and
"sanctified learning. And though since their
"deaths, many of high parts and piety have
"undertaken to clear the controversy; yet for
"the most part they have rather satisfied them-
"selves, than convinced the dissenting party.
"And, doubtless, many middle-witted men, which
"yet may mean well, many scholars that are not
"in the highest form for learning, which yet may
"preach well, men that are but preachers, and
"shall never know, until they come to heaven,
"where the questions stick betwixt Arminius and
"the Church of England (if there be any), will yet
"in this world be tampering with, and thereby
"perplexing the controversy, and do therefore
"justly fall under the reproof of St. Jude [u], for
"being busy-bodies, and for meddling with things
"they understand not [x]."

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[u] Rather, St. Peter. 1 *Pet.* iv. 15, and 2 *Pet.* ii. 12.

[x] In England Arminianism was hostile to civil liberty, and Calvinism favourable to it. It has been already remarked that James, however he pretended to promote the condemnation of Arminius

[illegible] have [illegible] I [illegible] [illegible]
he remembers that a [illegible] of Sir [illegible]
[illegible] designed for the [illegible] of [illegible]
came to England and [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] rules for his [illegible] and [illegible]
[illegible] in his [illegible] [illegible]
this for an [illegible] [illegible]
safety [illegible] [illegible]
should always [illegible] [illegible]
truth. It seems a [illegible] [illegible]
Sir Henry Wotton [illegible] [illegible] be
lieved: And by this means your [illegible] will
ure yourself if you shall ever be called to any
ount; and it will also put your adversaries,
o will still hunt counter, to a loss in all their
quisitions and undertakings."

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ism and his doctrines at the Synod of Dort, encouraged the
ians at home. He promoted Laud, Howson, Corbet, and
who were all zealous Arminians. There is reason to sup-
hat they abetted his arbitrary measures, and by that means
mended themselves.

he Puritans, who will allow no free-will at all, but God
all, yet will allow the subject his liberty to do or not to do,
withstanding the King, the God upon earth. The Arminians,
hold we have free-will, yet say, when we come to the
g, there must be all obedience, and no liberty to be stood
" (*Selden's Table Talk, under the Article* F[illegible]

When Sir Henry Wotton gives this [illegible]
, he seems really to have held [illegible]
nction of an ambassador, wh[illegible]
ated definition.

Many more of this nature might be observed, but they must be laid aside; for I shall here make a little stop, and invite the reader to look back with me whilst, according to my promise, I shall say a little of Sir Albertus Morton[2] and Mr. William Bedel, whom I formerly mentioned.

I have told you that are my reader, that at Sir Henry Wotton's first going ambassador into Italy, his cousin, Sir Albertus Morton, went his secretary: And I am next to tell you that Sir Albertus died Secretary of State to our late King; but cannot, am not able to express the sorrow that possessed Sir Henry Wotton at his first hearing the news that Sir Albertus was by death lost to him and this world. And yet the reader may partly guess by these following expressions: The first in a

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[2] "He died in the vernality of his employments and fortunes, "under the best king and master in the world." (*Reliq. Wotton. p.* 477.)

Sir Henry Wotton's epigram on the death of Sir Albertus Morton's wife is well known.

"He first deceased: She for a little tried
"To live without him: lik'd it not, and died."

Albertus Morton was elected scholar of King's College, Cambridge, in 1602. He went to Venice as Secretary to his uncle Sir Henry Wotton, and was afterward agent for King James at the court of Savoy, and with the Princes of the Union in Germany, Secretary to the Queen of Bohemia in 1616, one of the Clerks of the Council, and knighted in Sept. 1617, and at last Secretary of State, in which post he died in November, 1625. (*Dr. Birch's Life of Henry Prince of Wales.*)

letter to his Nicholas Pey, of which this that followeth is a part:

——"And, my dear Nick, when I had been "here almost a fortnight, in the midst of my great "contentment, I received notice of Sir Albertus "Morton's departure out of this world, who was "dearer to me than mine own being in it. What "a wound it is to my heart, you that knew him "and know me, will easily believe: But our "Creator's will be done and unrepiningly received "by his own creatures, who is the Lord of all "nature and of all fortune, when he taketh to "himself now one and then another, till that ex-"pected day wherein it shall please him to dissolve "the whole and wrap up even the heaven itself "as a scroll[a] of parchment. This is the last "philosophy that we must study upon earth. "Let us, therefore, that yet remain here, as our "days and friends waste, reinforce our love to "each other; which of all virtues, both spiritual "and moral, hath the highest privilege, because "death itself cannot end it[b]. And my good "Nick," &c.

This is a part of his sorrow thus expressed to his Nick Pey: The other part is in this following elegy, of which the reader may safely conclude it was too hearty to be dissembled.

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[a] Isaiah, xxxiv. 4.

[b] These are noble and exalted sentiments, such as Christianity alone inculcates.

TEARS

WEPT AT THE GRAVE OF SIR ALBERTUS MORTON, BY HENRY WOTTON.

SILENCE, in truth, would speak my sorrow best,
For deepest wounds can least their feelings tell [c]:
Yet let me borrow from mine own unrest
A time to bid him, whom I lov'd, farewell.

Oh, my unhappy lines! you that before
Have serv'd my youth to vent some wanton cries,
And now, congeal'd with grief, can scarce implore
Strength to accent—"Here my Albertus lies!"

This is that sable stone, this is the cave
And womb of earth that doth his corps embrace:
While others sing his praise, let me engrave
These bleeding numbers to adorn the place.

Here will I paint the characters of wo;
Here will I pay my tribute to the dead;
And here my faithful TEARS in showers shall flow,
To humanize the flints on which I tread [d].

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[c] Agreeable to that more ancient observation, "Curæ leves loquuntur, ingentes "stupent." (*Seneca.*)

...." The grief that does not speak
Whispers the o'er-fraught heart, and bids it break."

(*Shakspeare's Macbeth.*)

[d] This curious line reminds us of part of an extravagant elegy to the memory of a pleasant poet of the last century, Colonel Lovelace, in which the author, E. Revett, says,

"Why should some rude hand carve thy sacred stone,
"And there incise a cheap inscription,
"When we can shed the tribute of our tears
"So long, till the relenting marble wears?

"Which

Where, though I mourn my matchless loss alone,
And none between my weakness judge and me;
Yet even these pensive walls allow my moan,
Whose doleful echoes to my plaints agree [e].

But is he gone? and live I rhyming here
As if some muse would listen to my lay?
When all distun'd sit waiting for their dear,
And bathe the banks where he was wont to play.

Dwell then in endless bliss with happy souls,
Dischar'd from Nature's and from Fortune's trust;
Whilst on this fluid globe my hour-glass rolls,
And runs the rest of my remaining dust [f].

This concerning Sir Albertus Morton.

And for what I shall say concerning Mr. William edel, I must prepare the reader by telling him, at when King James sent Sir Henry Wotton mbassador to the State of Venice, he sent also

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"Which shall such order in their cadence keep,
"That they a native epitaph shall weep;
"Until each letter spelt distinctly lies,
"Cut by the mystic droppings of our eyes."

[e] Thus in the beautiful "Lycidas" of Milton.....

"Now thou art gone, and never must return:
"Thee, shepherd, thee the woods and desert caves,
"With wild thyme and the gadding vine o'ergrown,
"And all their echoes mourn."

[f] An ingenious modern critic has justly remarked, that "the poetical compositions of Sir Henry Wotton, when considered in their proper light, namely as the effusions of one who merely scribbled for his amusement, will be found deserving of praise."

an ambassador[g] to the King of France, and another to the King of Spain. With the ambassador of France went Joseph Hall, late Bishop of Norwich, whose many and useful works speak his great merit; with the ambassador of Spain went James Wadsworth; and with Sir Henry Wotton went William Bedel.

These three chaplains to these three ambassadors were all bred in one University, all of one College (Emanuel College in Cambridge), all beneficed in one diocese, and all most dear and entire friends. But in Spain Mr. Wadsworth[h] met with temptations, or reasons, such as were so powerful as to persuade him (who of the three was formerly ob-

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[g] James Hay, Viscount Doncaster.

[h] Mr. James Waddesworth, who died a Pensioner of the Holy Inquisition in *Seville*, was educated at *Emanuel* College in *Cambridge*, being a fellow-student and a chamber-fellow with Mr. *Bedel*. They were also beneficed in the same diocese; and they both left England at the same time. When Sir Charles Cornwallis, Treasurer to *Henry* Prince of *Wales*, went ambassador to Spain, he took with him Mr. *Waddesworth* as his chaplain, who was prevailed on to change his religion, and entirely to abandon his native country, and was afterward appointed to teach the *Infanta* the *English* tongue, when the match betwixt Prince *Charles* and her was believed to be concluded. "It appears," says Bishop Burnet, "as if in these two, Mr. *Bedel* and Mr. *Waddesworth*, those words of our Saviour had been to be verified—'*There shall be two in one bed, the one shall be taken and the other left.*' For as the one of these was wrought on to forsake his religion, the other was very near the being an instrument of a great and happy change in the Republic of Venice."

served to be the most averse to that religion that calls itself Catholic) to disclaim himself a member of the church of England, and declare himself for the church of Rome; discharging himself of his attendance on the Ambassador, and betaking himself to a monastic life, in which he lived very regularly, and so died.

When Dr. Hall, the late Bishop of Norwich, came into England, he wrote to Mr. Wadsworth (it is the first epistle in his printed decades), to persuade his return, or to show the reason of his apostacy. The letter seemed to have in it many sweet expressions of love; and yet there was in it some expression, that was so unpleasant to Mr. Wadsworth, that he rather chose to acquaint his old friend Mr. Bedel with his motives; by which means there passed betwixt Mr. Bedel and Mr. Wadsworth divers letters, which be extant in print, and did well deserve it: For in them there seems to be a controversy, not of religion only, but who should answer each other with most love and meekness. Which I mention the rather, because it too seldom falls out to be so in a book war[1].

[1] The collection of these letters forms a very valuable appendix to Bishop Burnet's Life of Bishop Bedel. Those which passed between Mr. Bedel and Mr. Waddesworth, on the conversion of the latter to Popery, discover that mildness and benignity of temper on the part of the former, which should be preserved in all controversies. On the contrary, the acrimony and harshness of Mr. Joseph Hall, writing on the same subject, are truly reprehensible.

There is yet a little more to be said of Mr. Bedel; for the greatest part of which the reader is referred to this following letter of Sir Henry Wotton's, written to our late King Charles I.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY,

"HAVING been informed that certain persons "have, by the good wishes of the Archbishop "of Armagh, been directed hither with a most "humble petition unto your Majesty, that you "will be pleased to make Mr. William Bedel, "now resident upon a small benefice in Suffolk[1], "Governor of your College at Dublin, for the "good of that society: And myself being re-"quired to render unto your Majesty some tes-"mony of the said William Bedel, who was long "my chaplain at Venice in the time of my first "employment there, I am bound in all conscience "and truth (so far as your Majesty will vouchsafe "to accept my poor judgment) to affirm of him, "that I think hardly a fitter man for that charge "could have been propounded unto your Majesty "in your whole kingdom for singular erudition "and piety, conformity to the rites of the church, "and zeal to advance the cause of God; wherein "his travels abroad were not obscure in the time "of the excommunication of the Venetians.

"For it may please your Majesty to know, that

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[1] Mr. BEDEL had been presented by Sir Thomas Jermyn to a rectory in Suffolk.

"this is the man whom Padre Paulo took, I may "say, into his very soul; with whom he did "communicate the inwardest thoughts of his heart; "from whom he professed to have received more "knowledge in all divinity, both scholastical and "positive, than from any that he had ever prac-"tised in his days: of which all the passages were "well known to the King your father, of most "blessed memory. And so, with your Majesty's "good favour, I will end this needless office; for "the general fame of his learning, his life and "Christian temper, and those religious labours "which himself hath dedicated to your Majesty, "do better describe him than I am able.

"Your Majesty's most humble
"And faithful servant,
"H. WOTTON."

To this letter I shall add this, that he was, to the great joy of Sir Henry Wotton, made Governor of the said College (August 1627); and that after a fair discharge of his duty and trust there, he was thence removed to be Bishop of Kilmore (September 3, 1629). In both which places his life was so holy, as seemed to equal the primitive Christians. For as they, so he kept all the Ember weeks, observed (besides his private devotions) the canonical hours of prayer very strictly, and so he did all the feasts and fast-days of his mother, the Church of England. To which I may add, that his patience and charity were both such as showed

his affections were set upon "things that are above;" for indeed his whole life brought forth the "fruits of the Spirit;" there being in him such a remarkable meekness that, as St. Paul advised his Timothy in the election of a bishop, 1 *Tim.* iii. 7. "That he have a good report of those that be without;" so had he: For those that were without, even those that in point of religion were of the Roman persuasion (of which there were very many in his diocese), did yet (such is the power of visible piety) ever look upon him with respect and reverence, and testified it by a concealing and safe protecting him from death in the late horrid rebellion in Ireland, when the fury of the wild Irish knew no distinction of persons: and yet there and then he was protected and cherished by those of a contrary persuasion; and there and then he died, not by violence or misusage, but by grief in a quiet prison[l] (1629.) And with him was lost many of his learned writings, which were thought worthy of preservation; and among the rest was lost the Bible, which by many years' labour, and conference, and study, he had translated into the Irish tongue[m], with an intent to have it printed for public use.

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[l] "Burnet's Life of Bedel," p. 180, 209.

[m] This zealous prelate, desirous that the free use of the Scriptures should disseminate a knowledge of the true religion among the Irish, selected one *King*, a convert from Popery, who was supposed to be the most elegant writer of his native language

More might be said of Mr. Bedel, who, I told the reader, was Sir Henry Wotton's first chaplain, and much of his second chaplain Isaac Bargrave[n], Doctor in Divinity, and the late learned and hospitable Dean of Canterbury; as also of the merits of many others that had the happiness to attend Sir Henry in his foreign employments: But the reader may think that in this digression I have already carried him too far from Eaton college; and therefore I shall lead him back as gently and as orderly as I may to that place, for a further conference concerning Sir Henry Wotton.

Sir Henry Wotton had proposed to himself, before he entered into his collegiate life, to write the life of Martin Luther[o], and in it the history

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language then alive, whether in prose or verse. Though he was much advanced in years, the Bishop thought him not only capable of undertaking an Irish version of the Bible, but qualified for a higher character: He ordained him, gave him a benefice in his own diocese, and employed him in this useful work, directing him to found his version on the English translation. The good Bishop revised the whole: And it was his usual custom after dinner and supper to read over a chapter, and to compare it with the original Hebrew, the LXXII, and Diodati's Italian version. See Burnet's "Life of Bishop Bedel," p. 118, 119.

[n] Of this excellent divine, and the cruel treatment he and his family received from Colonel Sandys, see Mr. Todd's "Deans of Canterbury," p. 100.

[o] A life of this reformer, written with candour and impartiality, has long been a desideratum in the republic of letters. That

of the Reformation as it was carried on in Germany. For the doing of which he had many advantages by his several embassies into those parts, and his interest in the several Princes of the Empire: By whose means he had access to the records of all the Hans towns, and the knowledge of many secret passages that fell not under common view; and in these he had made a happy progress, as is well known to his worthy friend Dr. Duppa, the late Reverend Bishop of Salisbury. But in the midst of this design, his late Majesty, King Charles I. that knew the value of Sir Henry Wotton's pen, did, by a persuasive loving violence, to which may be added a promise of five hundred pounds a year, force him to lay Luther aside, and betake himself to write the history of England: In which he proceeded to write some short characters of a few Kings, as a foundation upon which he meant to build; but for the present meant to be more large in the story of Henry VI. the founder of that College, in which he then enjoyed all the worldly happiness of his present being. But Sir Henry died in the midst of this undertaking; and the footsteps of his labours are

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That which is extant in the English language, entitled "The Life and Death of Dr. Martin Luther, the Passages whereof have bin taken out of his owne and other godly and most learned Men's Writings who lived in his time, 1 *Thess.* v. 12, 13," was printed in 1641, and is a mere literal translation from Melchior Adam.

not recoverable by a more than common diligence [p].

This is some account both of his inclination, and the employment both of his time in the College, where he seemed to have his youth renewed by a continual conversation with that learned society, and a daily recourse of other friends of choicest breeding and parts; by which that great blessing of a cheerful heart was still maintained: He being always free, even to the last of his days, from that peevishness which usually attends age.

And yet his mirth was sometimes damped by the remembrance of divers old debts [q], partly con-

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[p] Of this historical work a very small fragment is extant, written in the Latin language, with great elegance, and entitled "Henrici VI. Angliæ et Galliarum Regis, Hiberniæ Domini, Etonensis ad Tamesin Collegii Conditoris vita et excessus."

"The grant of a pension of 500*l.* a year, for his life, was "made to Sir Henry Wotton, Provost of Eaton, and Gentlemen "of the King's Privy Chamber. It is dated at Westminster, "Feb. 16, 1630."

He had a pension of 200*l.* settled on him in the third year of this reign, which was now augmented to 500*l.* to enable him to compose the Ancient History of England, and to bestow 100*l.* on the amanuenses and clerks necessary to be employed in that work. (*Acta Regia, p.* 815.)

[q] "Sir Henry Wotton is at this time under arrest for three "hundred pounds, upon execution, and lies by it. He was "taken coming from the Lord Treasurer's, soliciting a debt of "four thousand pounds, due to him from the King." (*Mr. Garrard to the Lord Deputy. Strafford's Letters, Vol. I. p.* 338.)

tracted in his foreign employments; for which his just arrears due from the King would have made satisfaction. But being still delayed with court-promises, and finding some decays of health, he did, about two years before his death, out of a Christian desire, that none should be a loser by him, make his last Will. Concerning which, a doubt still remains, namely, whether it discovered more holy wit, or conscionable policy? But there is no doubt, but that his chief design was a Christian endeavour that his debts might be satisfied.

And that it may remain as such a testimony, and a legacy to those that loved him, I shall here impart it to the reader, as it was found written with his own hand.

IN the name of God almighty and all-merciful, I Henry Wotton, Provost of his Majesty's College by Eaton, being mindful of mine own mortality, which the sin of our first parents did bring upon all flesh, do by this last Will and Testament, thus dispose of myself, and the poor things I shall leave in this world. My soul I bequeath to the immortal God my Maker, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, my blessed Redeemer and Mediator, through his all-sole sufficient satisfaction for the sins of the whole world, and efficient for his elect, in the number of whom I am one by his mere grace, and thereof most unremoveably assured by his holy

Spirit, the true Eternal Comforter. My body I bequeath to the earth, if I shall end my transitory days at, or near Eaton, to be buried in the Chapel of the said College, as the Fellows shall dispose thereof, with whom I have lived, my God knows, in all loving affection; or, if I shall die near Bocton Malherb, in the county of Kent, then I wish to be laid in that Parish-Church, as near as may be to the Sepulchre of my good Father, expecting a joyful resurrection with him in the day of Christ.

After this account of his faith, and this surrender of his soul to that God that inspired it, and this direction for the disposal of his body, he proceeded to appoint, that his executors should lay over his grave a marble stone, plain, and not costly. And considering that time moulders even marble to dust; for

"Monuments themselves must die[r]."

Therefore did he (waving the common way) think fit rather to preserve his name (to which the son of Sirac adviseth all men) by a useful apophthegm, than by a large enumeration of his descent or merits, of both which he might justly have boasted; but he was content to forget them, and did choose only this prudent, pious sentence, to discover his

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[r] "Quandoquidem data sunt ipsis quoque fata sepulchris."
JUVEN. Sat. x. 146.

disposition and preserve his memory.—It was directed by him to be thus inscribed:

HIC JACET HUJUS SENTENTIÆ PRIMUS AUTHOR,
DISPUTANDI PRURITUS ECCLESIARUM SCABIES.
NOMEN ALIAS QUÆRE.

Which may be Englished thus:

HERE LIES THE FIRST AUTHOR OF THIS SENTENCE,
THE ITCH OF DISPUTATION WILL PROVE THE SCAB OF THE CHURCH.
INQUIRE HIS NAME ELSEWHERE.

And if any shall object, as I think some have, that Sir Henry Wotton was not the first author of this sentence, but that this, or a sentence like it, was long before his time; to him I answer, that Solomon says, "Nothing can be spoken, that "hath not been spoken: For there is no new thing under the sun." But grant, that in his various readings, he had met with this, or a like sentence, yet reason mixed with charity should persuade all readers to believe, that Sir Henry Wotton's mind was then so fixed on that part of the Communion of Saints which is above, that an holy lethargy did surprise his memory. For doubtless, if he had not believed himself to be the first author of what he said, he was too prudent first to own, and then expose it to the public view and censure of every critic. And questionless it will be charity in all readers to think his

mind was then so fixed on heaven, that a holy zeal did transport him; and that in this sacred ecstacy, his thoughts were then only of the church triumphant,—into which he daily expected his admission; and that Almighty God was then pleased to make him a prophet, to tell the church militant, and particularly that part of it in this nation, where the weeds of controversy grow to be daily both more numerous, and more destructive to humble piety; and where men have consciences that boggle at ceremonies, and yet scruple not to speak and act such sins as the ancient humble Christians believed to be a sin to think; and where, as our reverend Hooker* says, "Former Simplicity, and Softness of Spirit, is not now to be found, because, Zeal hath drowned Charity, and Skill Meekness." It will be good to think that these sad changes have proved this epitaph to be a useful caution unto us of this

* *Such was the ancient simplicity and softness of spirit*, which sometimes prevailed in the world, that they, whose words were even as oracles amongst men, seemed evermore loth to give sentence against any thing publicly received in the church of God, except it were wonderfully apparently evil; for that they did not so much incline to that severity, which delighteth to reprove the least things it seeth amiss, as to that charity which is unwilling to behold any thing, that duty bindeth to reprove. The state of this present age, *wherein Zeal hath drowned Charity, and Skill Meekness*, will not now suffer any man to marvel, whatsoever he shall hear reproved, by whomsoever.

(Hooker's Eccles. Book IV. Sect. I.)

nation; and the sad effects thereof in Germany have proved it to be a mournful truth.

This by way of observation concerning his epitaph: The rest of his Will follows in his own words.

Further, I the said Henry Wotton, do constitute and ordain to be joint executors of this my last Will and Testament, my two grand-nephews, Albert Morton, second son to Sir Robert Morton, Knight, late deceased, and Thomas Bargrave, eldest Son to Dr. Bargrave, Dean of Canterbury, husband to my right virtuous and only niece. And I do pray the aforesaid Dr. Bargrave, and Mr. Nicholas Pey, my most faithful and chosen friends, together with Mr. John Harrison[1], *one of the Fellows of Eaton College, best acquainted with my books and pictures, and other utensils, to be supervisors of this my last Will and Testament. And I do pray the aforesaid Dr. Bargrave, and Mr. Nicholas Pey, to be solicitors for such arrearages as shall appear due unto me from his Majesty's Exchequer at the time of my death; and to assist my fore-named executors in some reasonable and*

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[1] Mr. J. Harrison was elected Fellow of Eaton College, October 28, 1636. He was probably that learned and eminent divine, whom Anthony Wood mentions as the author of "A Vindication of the Holy Scriptures, or the Manifestation of Jesus Christ the true Messiah already come." London, 1658.
(*Ath. Ox. vol. II. p. 961.*)

conscientious satisfaction of my creditors, and discharge of my legacies now specified; or that shall be hereafter added unto this my Testament by any codicil or schedule, or left in the hands or in any memorial with the aforesaid Mr. John Harrison.

And first to my most dear Sovereign and Master, of incomparable goodness, (in whose gracious opinion I have ever had some portion, as far as the interest of a plain honest man), I leave four pictures at large of those Dukes of Venice, in whose time I was there employed, with their names written on the backside, which hang in my great ordinary dining room, done after the life by Edoardo Fialetto [u]*: Likewise a table of the Venetian College, where ambassadors had their audience, hanging over the mantle of the chimney in the said room, done by the same hand, which containeth a draught in little, well resembling the famous D. Leonardo Donato, in a time which needed a wise and constant man.* Item, *The picture of a Duke*

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[u] This artist is mentioned in a very scarce volume, entitled, "Zanetti della pittura Veneziana," as a painter and engraver, and a native of Bologna. "Odoardo Fialetti Bolognese. Visse "lungo tempo e mori poi questo Pittore in Venezia allevato nella "scuola del Tintoretto; e fece studii assai regolati nell' arte. In "genio suo non fu tuttavia de piu vivaci e focosi." p. 502. Several of his pictures are in five of the churches of Venice; and he is celebrated for having engraved with great correctness two pictures of Tintoretto, now at Venice, in the "Scuola di S. Rocco;" the one representing St. Sebastian, the other the Marriage of Cana.

of Venice, hanging over against the door, done either by Titiano[x], *or some other principal hand, long before my time. Most humbly beseeching his Majesty, that the said pieces may remain in some corner of any of his houses, for a poor memorial of his most humble vassal.*

Item, *I leave his said Majesty all the papers and negociations of Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, Knight*[y], *during his famous employment, under Queen Elizabeth, in Scotland and in France; which contain divers secrets of state, that perchance his Majesty will think fit to be preserved in his Paper-office, after they have been perused and*

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[x] Of this celebrated artist, the most universal genius of all the Lombard school, the best colourist of all the moderns, and the most eminent for histories, landscapes, and portraits, see "Dryden's Fresnoy's Art of Painting," p. 267.——Sir Henry Wotton, during his residence at Venice, purchased several very valuable paintings for the Duke of Buckingham: Among others was probably the "Ecce Homo" of Titian, which was afterwards valued at 5000 *l.* and bought by the Archduke Leopold, who added it to his own collection in the Castle of Prague. See "Cabala," p. 398.

[y] Sir NICHOLAS THROGMORTON was eminent for his abilities in state affairs, and often sent by Queen Elizabeth ambassador to foreign courts. Of him Sir Francis Walsingham, lamenting the loss sustained by his death, writes thus in a letter to Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. "Be it spoken without offence of "any, for counsel in peace, and conduct in war, he hath not left "of like sufficiency his successor that I know of."

(Supplement to Collins's Peerage, p. 90. See also Kennet's Complete History, &c. Vol. II. p. 430.)

sorted by Mr. Secretary Windebank, with whom I have heretofore, as I remember, conferred about them. They were committed to my disposal by Sir Arthur Throgmorton his son[2], *to whose worthy memory I cannot better discharge my faith, than by assigning them to the highest place of trust.*

Item, *I leave to our most gracious and virtuous Queen Mary, Dioscorides, with the plants naturally coloured, and the text translated by Matthiolo*[3] *in the best language of Tuscany, whence her said Majesty is lineally descended, for a poor token of my thankful devotion for the honour she was once pleased to do my private study with her presence. I leave to the most hopeful Prince, the picture of the elected and crowned Queen of Bohemia, his aunt, of clear and resplendent virtues through the*

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[2] THOMAS Lord WOTTON, son of Edward, the first Lord Wotton, and nephew to Sir Henry Wotton, married Mary the daughter and one of the coheirs of Sir Arthur Throgmorton, of Paulers Perry, in Northamptonshire.

[3] A physician of the 16th century, who published commentaries on Dioscorides, adorned with large wooden prints. This work was once held in high estimation. "I pray you, buy me "the commentaries of *Matthiolus* upon *Dioscorides*, translated "into French, and let it be bound with two or three sheets of "paper before and in the end. That book was never wont to go "from me, and now I cannot tell how it is stolen from me: be-"cause it was noted with my observations and notes, I had "rather have lost a far better thing."

Letter of Sir Thomas Smith to Sir Francis Walsingham, in Digges's compleat Ambassador.

ds of her fortune. To my Lord's Grace of nterbury[b] *now being, I leave my picture of ivine Love, rarely copied from one in the King's lleries, of my presentation to his Majesty; beeching him to receive it as a pledge of my humble everence to his great wisdom. And to the most worthy Lord Bishop of London*[c]*, Lord High Treasurer of England, in true admiration of his Christian simplicity and contempt of earthly pomp, I leave a picture of Heraclitus bewailing, and Democritus laughing at, the world: Most humbly beseeching the said Lord Archbishop his Grace, and the Lord Bishop of London, of both whose favours I have tasted in my life-time, to intercede with our most gracious Sovereign after my death, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, that out of compassionate memory of my long services (wherein I more studied the public honour, than mine own utility), some order may be taken out of my arrears due in the Exchequer, for such satisfaction of my creditors, as those whom I have ordained supervisors of this my last Will and Testament, shall present unto their Lordships, without their further trouble; hoping likewise in his Majesty's most indubitable goodness, that he will keep me from*

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[b] Archbishop Laud.

[c] Juxon, Bishop of London, was made Lord High Treasurer of England in 1635, through the interest of Archbishop Laud.

all prejudice, which I may otherwise suffer by any defect of formality in the demand of my said arrears.

To ————, *for a poor addition to his cabinet, I leave, as emblems of his attractive virtues and obliging nobleness, my great Loadstone, and a piece of Amber of both kinds naturally united, and only differing in degree of concoction, which is thought somewhat rare.* Item, *A piece of Crystal Serangular (as they grow all) grasping divers several things within it, which I bought among the Rhaetion Alps, in the very place where it grew; recommending most humbly unto his Lordship, the reputation of my poor name in the point of my debts, as I have done to the forenamed Spiritual Lords, and am heartily sorry that I have no better token of my humble thankfulness to his honoured person.* Item, *I leave to Sir Francis Windebank, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State (whom I found my great friend in point of necessity) the Four Seasons of old Bassano*[d], *to hang near the eye in his parlour (being in little form), which I bought at Venice, where I first entered into his most worthy acquaintance.*

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[d] GIACOMO DA PONTE DA BASSANO, so called from the place of his birth in the Marca Trevisana, in 1510, was a celebrated artist, who excelled in rural scenery and animals. He died at the age of 82, leaving four sons, two of whom were distinguished painters.

(Dryden's Fresnoy's Art of Painting, p. 290.)

To the above-named Dr. Bargrave, Dean of Canterbury, I leave all my Italian books not disposed in this Will. I leave to him likewise, my Viol de Gamba, which hath been twice with me in Italy; in which country I first contracted with him an unremovable affection. To my other Supervisor, Mr. Nicholas Pey, I leave my Chest, or Cabinet of Instruments and Engines of all kinds of uses: in the lower box whereof are some fit to be bequeathed to none but so entire an honest man as he is. I leave him likewise forty pounds for his pains in the solicitation of my Arrears; and am sorry that my ragged estate can reach no further to one that hath taken such care for me in the same kind, during all my foreign employments. To the Library at Eaton College, I leave all my Manuscripts not before disposed, and to each of the Fellows a plain Ring of gold, enameled black, all save the verge, with this motto within,* AMOR UNIT OMNIA.

This is my Last Will and Testament, save what shall be added by a schedule thereunto annexed, written on the first of October, in the present year of our Redemption, 1637, *and subscribed by myself, with the testimony of these witnesses.*

NICH. OUDERT. HENRY WOTTON.

GEO. LASH.

* In it were Italian locks, pick-locks, screws to force open doors, and many things of worth and rarity, that he had gathered in his foreign travel.

And now, because the mind of man is best satisfied by the knowledge of events, I think fit to declare, that every one that was named in his will did gladly receive their legacies: By which, and his most just and passionate desires for the payment of his debts, they joined in assisting the overseers of his will; and by their joint endeavours to the King (than whom none was more willing) conscionable satisfaction was given for his just debts.

The next thing wherewith I shall acquaint the reader is, that he went usually once a year, if not oftener, to the beloved Bocton-Hall, where he would say, "He found a cure for all cares, "by the cheerful company," which he called "the living furniture of the place;" and "a re-"storation of his strength, by the connaturalness "of" that which he called "his genial air."

He yearly went also to Oxford. But the summer before his death* he changed that for a

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* In this year he wrote his letter to Milton, who then lived near Eaton, thanking him for his present of "Comus," which he calls "A dainty peece of entertainment; wherein," he adds, "I should much commend the tragical part, if the lyrical did "not ravish me with a certain Dorique delicacy in your "songs and odes, whereunto I must plainly confess to have "seen yet nothing parallel in our language: ipsa mollities."

(Reliq. Wotton. p. 343.)

Milton has commended this letter in his "Defensio Secunda Populi Anglicani." "Abeuntem vir clarissimus Henricus "Wootonus, qui ad Venetos Orator Jacobi Regis diu fuerat, "et votis et præceptis eunti peregrè sanè utilissimis *eleganti* "*epistolâ* perscriptis amicissimè prosequutus est."

journey to Winchester College, to which school he was first removed from Bocton. And as he returned from Winchester towards Eaton College, said to a friend, his companion in that journey, "How useful was that advice of a holy monk, "who persuaded his friend *to perform his cus-* "*tomary devotions in a constant place, because in* "*that place we usually meet with those very* "*thoughts which possessed us at our last being* "*there*; and I find it thus far experimentally "true, that at my now being in that school, and "seeing that very place where I sat when I was "a boy, occasioned me to remember those very "thoughts of my youth which then possessed "me: sweet thoughts, indeed, that promised my "growing years numerous pleasures without mix-"tures of cares[f], and those to be enjoyed when "time (which I therefore thought slow paced) had "changed my youth into manhood.—But age and "experience have taught me that those were but "empty hopes; for I have always found it true,

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[f] "Ah, happy hills! Ah, pleasing shade!
"Ah, fields belov'd in vain!
"Where once my careless childhood stray'd,
"A stranger yet to pain!
"I feel the gales that from ye blow
"A momentary bliss bestow,
"As waving fresh their gladsome wing
"My weary soul they seem to sooth,
"And, redolent of joy and youth,
"To breathe a second spring."

GRAY'S *Ode on a distant prospect of Eaton College.*

"as my Saviour did foretel, '*Sufficient for the* "*day is the evil thereof.*' Nevertheless, I saw "there a succession of boys using the same re- "creations, and, questionless, possessed with the "same thoughts that then possessed me. Thus "one generation succeeds another, both in their "lives, recreations, hopes, fears, and death."

After his return from Winchester to Eaton, which was about five months before his death, he became much more retired and contemplative: in which time he was often visited by Mr. John Hales (the learned Mr. John Hales), then a Fellow of that College, to whom upon an occasion he spake to this purpose: "I have, in my passage "to my grave, met with most of those joys of "which a discoursive soul is capable; and been "entertained with more inferior pleasures than "the sons of men are usually made partakers of: "Nevertheless in this voyage I have not always "floated on the calm sea of content; but have "often met with cross winds and storms, and "with many troubles of mind and temptations "to evil. And yet, though I have been and "am a man compassed about with human frailties, "Almighty God hath by his grace prevented me "from making *shipwreck of faith and a good con-* "*science*, the thought of which is now the joy "of my heart; and I most humbly praise him "for it: And I humbly acknowledge that it was "not myself, but he that hath kept me to this "great age, and let him take the glory of his

" great mercy.—And, my dear friend, I now see
" that I draw near my harbour of death; that
" harbour that will secure me from all the future
" storms and waves of this restless world; and
" I praise God I am willing to leave it and expect
" a better; that world *wherein dwelleth righteous-*
" *ness; and I long for it.*"

These and the like expressions were then uttered by him at the beginning of a feverish distemper, at which time he was also troubled with an asthma or short spitting: But after less than twenty fits, by the help of familiar physic and a spare diet, this fever abated, yet so as to leave him much weaker than it found him; and his asthma seemed also to be overcome in a good degree by his forbearing tobacco, which, as many thoughtful men do, he also had taken somewhat immoderately. This was his then present condition, and thus he continued till about the end of October, 1639, which was about a month before his death, at which time he again fell into a fever, which, though he seemed to recover, yet these still left him so weak, that they and those other common infirmities that accompany age, and were wont to visit him like civil friends, and after some short time to leave him, came now both oftener and with more violence, and at last took up their constant habitation with him, still weakening his body and abating his cheerfulness; of both which he grew more sensible, and did the oftener retire into his study, and there made

many papers that had passed his pen, both in the days of his youth and in the busy part of his life, useless, by a fire made there to that purpose. These, and several unusual expressions to his servants and friends, seemed to foretel that the day of his death drew near; for which he seemed to those many friends that observed him, to be well prepared, and to be both patient and free from all fear, as several of his letters writ on this his last sick-bed may testify. And thus he continued till about the beginning of December following, at which time he was seized more violently with a quotidian fever, in the tenth fit of which fever his better part, that part of Sir Henry Wotton which could not die, put off mortality with as much content and cheerfulness as human frailty is capable of, being then in great tranquillity of mind, and in perfect peace with God and man [s].

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[s] The following exquisitely beautiful hymn was written by him in his sickness:

"O thou great Power, in whom I move,
"For whom I live, to whom I die!
"Behold me thro' thy beams of love,
"Whilst on this couch of tears I lie,
"And cleanse my sordid soul within
"By thy Christ's blood, the bath of sin.

"No hallow'd oils, no grains I need,
"No rags of saints, no purging fire;
"One rosy drop from David's seed
"Was worlds of seas to quench thine ire.
"O, precious ransom! which, once paid,
"That *consummatum est* was said;

"And

And thus the circle of Sir Henry Wotton's life—that circle which began at Bocton, and in the circumference thereof did first touch at Winchester school, then at Oxford, and after upon so many remarkable parts and passages in Christendom—that circle of his life was by death thus closed up and completed, in the seventy-second year of his age, at Eaton College, where, according to his will, he now lies buried, with his motto on a plain grave-stone over him. Dying worthy of his name and family; worthy of the love and favour of so many Princes and persons of eminent wisdom and learning; worthy of the trust committed unto him for the service of his Prince and country.

And all readers are requested to believe, that he was worthy of a more worthy pen to have preserved his memory and commended his merits to the imitation of posterity.

IZ. WA.

"And said by him that said no more,
"But seal'd it with his dying breath.
"Thou then that hast dispung'd my score,
"And dying wast the death of Death,
"Be to me now, on thee I call,
"My life, my strength, my joy, my all."

AN

ELEGY ON SIR HENRY WOTTON,

WRIT BY

Mr. ABRAM COWLEY[h].

WHAT shall we say, since silent now is he,
Who when he spoke all things would silent be.
Who had so many languages in store,
That only Fame shall speak of him in more.

h "Every thing which Cowley wrote," says the editor of his select works, "is either so good or so bad, that in all reason a separation should be made." His Elegy on the death of Sir Henry Wotton is classed by him among the latter, as he has not inserted it in his, "Collection of Cowley's Poems." Dr. Johnson entertains a more favourable opinion of it: By him it is pronounced to be vigorous and happy, the series of thoughts easy and natural, and the conclusion, though a little weakened by the intrusion of Alexander, elegant and forcible. Denham has remarked of Cowley,

"To him no author was unknown,
"Yet what he writ was all his own."

The last lines of this elegy bear so strong a resemblance to an epigram of Grotius upon the death of Joseph Scaliger, that the great critic above quoted thinks them copied from it, though they are copied by no servile hand. Joseph Scaliger, like Sir Henry Wotton, was celebrated for his accurate knowledge of languages. Grotius composed four elegies on the death of this eminent scholar.

That which Cowley is supposed to have imitated begins with these lines.....

"Hic jacet et Gades super exanditus et Indos
"Scaliger, hic mundi publica lingua jacet."

Whom England now no more return'd must see;
He's gone to heav'n on his fourth embassy[i].
On earth he travell'd often, not to say
He'd been abroad to pass loose time away;
For in whatever land he chanc'd to come,
He read the men and manners; bringing home
Their wisdom, learning, and their piety,
As if he went to conquer, not to see.
So well he understood the most and best
Of tongues that Babel sent into the West;
Spoke them so truly, that he had (you'd swear)
Not only liv'd but been born every where.
Justly each nation's speech to him was known;
Who for the world was made, not us alone.
Nor ought the language of that man be less,
Who in his breast had all things to express:
We say that learning's endless, and blame Fate
For not allowing life a longer date.
He did the utmost bounds of knowledge find,
And found them not so large as was his mind;
But, like the brave Pellean youth[k], did moan,
Because that art had no more worlds than one.
And when he saw that he through all had past,
He dy'd lest he should idle grow at last.

A. COWLEY.

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[i] Sir Henry Wotton's most important embassies were those to Venice. To that Republic he was thrice sent ambassador from James I.

[k] "Unus *Pellæo juveni* non sufficit orbis." JUVEN. Sat. X. 168.

APPENDIX.

THE WORKS OF SIR HENRY WOTTON.

SIR HENRY WOTTON is addressed as a poet by Bastard the epigrammatist, in the following lines:

> " Wotton, the country and the country swaine,
> " How can they yeelde a poet any sense?
> " How can they stirre him up or heal his vaine?
> " How can they feed him with intelligence?
> " You have that fire which can a wit enflame
> " In happy London, England's fayrest eye:
> " Well may you poets have of worthy name
> " Which have the foode and life of poetry.
> " And yet the country or the towne may sway
> " Or bear a part, as clownes doe in a play."

His Poems were collected by Isaac Walton, and inserted in " RELIQUIÆ WOTTONIANÆ; or, a " Collection of Lives, Letters, Poems with Characters " of sundry Personages, and other incomparable Pieces " of Language and Art: By the curious Pencil of the " ever memorable Sir Henry Wotton, Kt. late Provost " of Eaton College, 1651." A second edition in 4to appeared in 1654: a third in 1672. In the fourth edition which appeared in 1685, is the valuable addition of letters to the Lord Zouch.

This collection contains the " TREATISE on the " ELEMENTS of ARCHITECTURE," first published

in 1624, 4to. This Treatise is still held in great estimation, has been translated into Latin, and annexed to the works of Vitruvius, and to Freart's "Parallel of the "Ancient Architecture with the Modern."

In Cibber's, or rather Shield's Lives of the Poets, the only specimen given of Sir Henry Wotton's poetry, is the famous composition, "THE WORLD'S A BUBBLE," which, in "The Reliquiæ Wottonianæ," is said to have been found among his papers, the author unknown. Farnabie, in his "Epigrammata Selecta, 1629," ascribes it to Lord Bacon. He has translated it into Greek, and has some various readings.

Of Sir Henry Wotton's Latin Panegyric on Charles I. there are two translations by unknown hands: The one is inserted in "The Reliquiæ Wottonianæ;" the other is very scarce, printed in a very small twenty-fours, on a large type, containing 118 pages, besides the Dedication and Preface.

A
Panegyric
of King Charles,
being observations
upon the inclination
life & govern-
-ment of our Sove-
-raign Lord the
King.
Written by
Sir Henry Wotton, Knight,
Provost of Eaton Colledg,
a little before his Death,
And printed for Richard Marriott,
London.

Besides the pieces in "The Remains," Sir Henry Wotton wrote

"The STATE of CHRISTENDOM; or, a most exact and curious Discovery of many Secret Passages and hidden Mysteries of the Times: Written by the renowned Sir Henry Wotton, Kt Ambassadour in Ordinary to the Most Serene Republique of Venice, and late Provost of Eaton College." *London*, 1657. To which is added "A SUPPLEMENT to the HISTORY of the STATE of CHRISTENDOM." Reprinted in 1677.

This work was begun about the year 1599, during Sir Henry Wotton's first residence at Venice, after his hasty departure from England.

Several of Sir Henry Wotton's letters are inserted in "Cabala, or Mysteries of State. *London*, 1654," in 4to; and in "Cabala, or Scrinia sacra. *London*, 1663," Fol.: Also in "Strafford's Letters and Despatches, 1739," Fol.

The two following tracts, written by Sir Henry Wotton, were never printed; namely,

"The JOURNAL of his EMBASSIES to VENICE;" a MS. fairly written, and formerly in the library of Lord Edward Conway.

"THREE PROPOSITIONS to the COUNT D'ANGOSCIOLA, in Matters of Duels;" a MS. preserved in the library of the College of Arms.

Too much, alas! thou didst resemble then
Sion thy pattern—Sion in ashes laid,
Despis'd, forsaken, and betray'd;
Sion thou dost resemble once agen,
And, rais'd like her, the glory of the world art made.
Threnes only to thee could that time belong,
But now thou art the lofty subject of my song.

II.

Begin, my verse, and where the doleful mother sat[b]
(As it in vision was to Esdras shown)
Lamenting, with the rest, her dearest son,
Bless'd Charles, who his forefathers has outgone,
And to the royal join'd the martyr's brighter crown,
Let a new city rise with beauteous state,
And beauteous let its temple be, and beautiful the gate!
Lo! how the sacred fabric up does rise!
The architects so skilful all,
So grave, so humble, and so wise;
The axe's and the hammer's noise
Is drown'd in silence or in numbers musical[c]:
'Tis up, and at the altar stand
The reverend fathers as of old,
With harps and incense in their hand.
Nor let the pious service grow or stiff or cold;
Th' inferior priests, the while,
To praise continually employ'd or pray,
Need not the weary hours beguile,
Enough's the single duty of each day.
Thou thyself, Woodford, on thy humbler pipe may'st play.

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[b] See 2 Esdras, from chap. ix. 38, to the end of the tenth chapter.

[c] See 1 Kings vi. 7.

And tho' but lately enter'd there[d],
So gracious those thou honour'st all appear,
So ready and attent to hear
An easy part, proportion'd to thy skill, may'st bear.

III.

But where, alas? where wilt thou fix thy choice?
The subjects are so noble all,
So great their beauties and thy art so small,
They'll judge, I fear, themselves disparag'd by thy voice:
Yet try, and since thou canst not take
A name so despicably low,
But 'twill exceed what thou canst do,
Tho' thy whole mite thou away at once shouldst throw,
Thy poverty a virtue make:
And, that thou may'st immortal live,
(Since immortality thou canst not give)
From one who has enough to spare be ambitious to receive.
Of reverend and judicious Hooker sing;
Hooker does to the church belong,
The church and Hooker claim thy song,
And inexhausted riches to thy verse will bring;
So far beyond itself will make it grow,
That life, his gift to thee, thou shalt again on him bestow.

IV.

How great, bless'd soul, must needs thy glories be!
Thy joys how perfect, and thy crown how fair!
Who mad'st the church thy chiefest care;
This church which owes so much to thee,
That all her sons are studious of thy memory.

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[d] Dr. WOODFORD, the author of this poem, was ordained by Bishop Morley in the year in which these verses were written.

'Twas a bold work the captiv'd to redeem,
And not so only, but th' oppress'd to raise
(Our aged mother) to that due esteem
She had and merited in her younger days.
When primitive zeal and piety
Were all her laws and policy,
And decent worship kept the mean
Its too wide stretch'd extremes between,
The rudely scrupulous and extravagantly vain——
This was the work of Hooker's pen.
With judgment, candour, and such learning writ,
Matter and words so exactly fit
That were it to be done agen,
Expected 'twould be as its answer hitherto has been.

RITORNATA.

To Chelsea[e], song; there tell thy master's friend
The church is Hooker's debtor—Hooker his;
And strange 'twould be if he should glory miss
For whom two such most powerfully contend:
Bid him cheer up, the day's his own,
And he shall never die,
Who, after sev'nty's past and gone,
Can all th' assaults of age defy;

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[e] The residence of Morley Bishop of Winchester, whose liberality appropriated to the use of his successors a magnificent house at Chelsea, which he had purchased for four thousand pounds. He obtained an act of Parliament, by which that house was declared to be within the diocese of Winchester. Such was his known benefience, that on his promotion to the see of Winchester, Charles II. said of him, "That notwithstanding its vast revenue he would "be never the richer for it."

Is master still of so much youthful heat,
A child so perfect and so sprightly to beget.

BENSTEAD, HANTS.
March 10, 16[illegible]. SAM. WOODFORD[1].

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[1] The author of these verses, Dr. SAMUEL WOODFORD, was born in 1636, and having been a commoner of Wadham College, in Oxford, he took his first degree in arts, and afterward removed to the Inner Temple, where he was chamber-fellow with Mr. Flatman, the poet. In 1669, he was ordained by Morley Bishop of Winchester, and being created Doctor of Divinity by a diploma from Archbishop Sancroft, was preferred to a prebend in the church at Winchester. He composed a Paraphrase on the Psalms, commended by Mr. Richard Baxter, as also on the Canticles, with many original poems and translations from the Greek, Latin, Spanish, and Italian writers. He died in 1700.

(*Wood's Athen. Ox.*)

TO THE READER.

I THINK it necessary to inform my reader, that Dr. Gauden (the late Bishop of Worcester) hath also lately wrote and published the life of Mr. Hooker. And though this be not writ by design to oppose what he hath truly written; yet I am put upon a necessity to say, that in it there be many material mistakes, and more omissions. I conceive some of his mistakes did proceed from a belief in Mr. Thomas Fuller [t], who had too hastily

[t] Dr. THOMAS FULLER, celebrated as a biographer and a historian, was educated at Cambridge, having been first admitted of Queen's College, from whence, being incapacitated by the statutes from succeeding to a fellowship, he removed to Sidney College. He died in 1661. He was a general scholar, had a prodigious memory, a quick wit, a luxuriant fancy and invention, but not the most exact judgment. Such was his moderation during the time of the civil wars, that by one party, before whom he preached, he was called "a hot royalist;" while, for his discourses before the King and Court at Oxford, he was blamed as being too lukewarm. Soon after the restoration, he was made Chaplain in Ordinary to the King, being also in a well-grounded expectation of some present farther advancement; but here death stepped in, and drew the curtain between him and the ecclesiastical dignities that awaited him. His laborious but imperfect "History of the Worthies of England" is considered as the most valuable of his works. See his account of Mr. Hooker in "The Church History of Britain," B. IX. p. 214, 217, 235.

(Echard's History of England, vol. III. p. 71.—Life of Dr. Thomas Fuller, p. 5, 53.)

published what he hath since most ingenuously retracted. And for the Bishop's omissions, I suppose his more weighty business and want of time made him pass over many things without that due examination, which my better leisure, my. diligence, and my accidental advantages have made known unto me.

And now for myself, I can say, I hope, or rather know, there are no material mistakes in what I here present to you that shall become my reader. Little things that I have received by tradition (to which there may be too much and too little faith given) I will not at this distance of time undertake to justify: for, though I have used great diligence, and compared relations and circumstances, and probable results and expressions, yet I shall not impose my belief upon my reader, I shall rather leave him at liberty: But if there shall appear any material omission, I desire every lover of truth and the memory of Mr. Hooker, that it may be made known unto me. And to incline him to it, I here promise to acknowledge and rectify any such mistake in a second impression, which the printer says he hopes for; and by this means my weak, but faithful, endeavours may become a better monument, and, in some degree, more worthy the memory of this venerable man.

I confess, that when I consider the great learning and virtue of Mr. Hooker, and what satisfaction and advantages many eminent scholars and

admirers of him have had by his labours; I do not a little wonder that in sixty years no man did undertake to tell posterity of the excellencies of his life and learning, and the accidents of both; and sometimes wonder more at myself that I have been persuaded to it; and indeed I do not easily pronounce my own pardon, nor expect that my reader shall, unless my introduction shall prove my apology, to which I refer him.

THE INTRODUCTION.

I HAVE been persuaded by a friend, that I ought to obey, to write The Life of Richard Hooker [h], the happy author of five (if not more) of the eight learned books of "The Laws of "Ecclesiastical Polity." And though I have undertaken it, yet it hath been with some unwillingness, foreseeing that it must prove to me, and especially at this time of my age, a work of much labour to inquire, consider, research, and determine what is needful to be known concerning him. For I knew him not in his life, and must therefore not only look back to his death (now sixty-four years past) but almost fifty years beyond that, even to his childhood and youth, and gather thence

[h] Isaac Walton's edition of 1675 has been followed in the preceding lives of Dr. Donne and Sir Henry Wotton. It is thought expedient to deviate from that edition in the Life of Mr. Hooker, by adopting that which was last revised by Walton, and is prefixed to his works printed at London in 1723, and at Oxford in 1793, yet without admitting those passages which Mr. Strype has introduced into the text.

such observations and prognosticks, as may at least adorn, if not prove necessary for the completing of what I have undertaken.

This trouble I foresee, and foresee also that it is impossible to escape censures; against which I will not hope my well-meaning and diligence can protect me (for I consider the age in which I live); and shall therefore but intreat of my reader a suspension of them, till I have made known unto him some reasons, which I myself would now fain believe, do make me in some measure fit for this undertaking: And if these reasons shall not acquit me from all censures, they may at least abate of their severity; and this is all I can probably hope for.——My reasons follow:

About forty years past (for I am now in the seventieth of my age) I began a happy affinity with William Cranmer (now with God) grand-nephew unto the great Archbishop of that name; a family of noted prudence and resolution; with him and two of his sisters I had an entire and free friendship: One of them was the wife of Dr. Spencer, a bosom-friend, and sometime com-pupil with Mr. Hooker in Corpus Christi College in Oxford, and after President of the same. I name them here, for that I shall have occasion to mention them in this following discourse; as also their brother, of whose useful abilities my reader may have a more authentic testimony than my pen can purchase for him, by that of our learned Camden and others.

This William Cranmer, and his two fore-named sisters, had some affinity, and a most familiar friendship with Mr. Hooker, and had had some part of their education with him in his house, when he was parson of Bishop's-Born near Canterbury; in which city their good father then lived. They had, I say, a great part of their education with him, as myself, since that time, a happy cohabitation with them; and having some years before read part of Mr. Hooker's works with great liking and satisfaction, my affection to them made me a diligent inquisitor into many things that concerned him; as namely, of his person, his nature, the management of his time, his wife, his family, and the fortune of him and his. Which inquiry hath given me much advantage in the knowledge of what is now under my consideration, and intended for the satisfaction of any reader.

I had also a friendship with the Reverend Doctor Usher[1], the late learned Archbishop of Armagh; and with Doctor Morton, the late

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[1] The character of this eminent Prelate is happily expressed in the eulogium of the University of Oxford, inscribed on his portrait, which was ordered to be prefixed to his edition of The Epistles of Ignatius. "Jacobus Usserius, Archiepiscopus Armachanus, totius Hiberniæ Primas, Antiquitatis primævæ peritissimus, orthodoxæ Religionis Vindex ἀναντιῤῥητος, Errorum malleus, in concionando frequens, facundus, præpotens, vitæ inculpatæ exemplar spectabile."

learned and charitable[k] Bishop of Durham; as also with the learned John Hales, of Eaton College, and with them also (who loved the very name of Mr. Hooker) I have had many discourses concerning him; and from them, and many others that have now put off mortality, I might have had more informations, if I could then have admitted

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[k] How properly this epithet is applied to this excellent person appears, from his behaviour in 1602, in the earlier period of his life, while the plague raged at York. The poorer sort of the infected, being turned out of their habitations, had booths erected for them at a moor near the city; for whose comfort and relief in that fatal extremity, Mr. Morton often repaired to them from Marston, to preach unto them, and to minister consolation to their languishing souls, having withal provisions of meat carried with him in sacks, to relieve the poorest sort with. But as often as he went thither, he suffered not any servant to attend him, but himself saddled and unsaddled his horse, and he had a private door made through the wall of his study (being the utmost part of the house) for prevention, lest he might bring the contagion with him and endanger his whole family. (*Richard Baddiley's Life of Bishop Morton.*)—Having thus laid the foundation of virtue when in a more private and humble station, he built upon it a most noble superstructure. His various actions of splendid liberality and extensive beneficence, through the whole course of a long life, are only to be equalled by the magnanimity which he displayed in his great sufferings. By his will, dated Feb. 20, 1658, and proved Oct. 1, 1660, when he had little or nothing left, he bequeathed his chalice to All-Saints Church in York, and ten pounds to the poor of the parish where he died, which was at Easton-Maudit, in Northamptonshire. In his epitaph he is declared—"Bonis exutus omnibus bonâ præterquam Famâ et "Conscientiâ."

a thought of any fitness for what by persuasion I have now undertaken. But though that full harvest be irrecoverably lost, yet my memory hath preserved some gleanings, and my diligence made such additions to them, as I hope will prove useful to the completing of what I intend. In the discovery of which I shall be faithful, and with this assurance put a period to my Introduction.

THE LIFE OF

RICHARD HOOKER

IT is not to be doubted but that Richard Hooker was born within the precincts[1], or in the city of Exeter. A city which may justly boast, that it was the birth-place of him and Sir Thomas Bodley[m];

[1] On the east of Exeter is a parish-church called Heavy-Tree, memorable for the birth of Mr. Hooker, the judicious author of "The Ecclesiastical Polity," and of that great civilian, Dr. Arthur Duck. *(Camden's Britannia.)*

[m] Sir T. BODLEY was the founder, or rather the restorer of the public library at Oxford, which was originally begun by Humphry, Duke of Gloucester, who lived in the reign of Henry VI. and collected together, and considerably enlarged two libraries, one founded by Richard Bury, from his great love of books, usually called Philo-biblos, Bishop of Durham in the reign of Edward III. and another by Thomas Cobham, Bishop of Worcester.—"Illa Bodlei Industria plusquam humana; illa "tot Linguarum Artiumque infinita Comprenensio doctos tan-"tum egit in Stuporem; at illa incredibilis Morum Suavitas, "ille in Congressibus Gestuque toto Lepos et veluti Atticismus "quidam doctos indoctosque juxtà cepit." *(Orat. Funebr. I. "Hales.)*—"King James, in 1605, when he came to see our "University of Oxford, and amongst other edifices now went to

 "view

as indeed the county may, in which it stands, that it hath furnished this nation with Bishop Jewel[a].

" view that famous library renewed by Sir Thomas Bodley, in " imitation of Alexander, at his departure broke out into that " noble speech. *If I were not a King, I would be an University* " *man. And if it were so, that I must be a prisoner, if I might* " *have my wish, I would desire to have no other prison than that* " *library, and to be chained together with so many good authors* " *and* mortuis magistris."

(Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy, Part I. Sect. II. p. 177.)

[a] Dr. JOHN JEWEL, Bishop of Salisbury, one of the brightest ornaments of the reformed religion, the celebrated author of " The Apology of the Church of England;" a work ever to be commended for the classic elegance of its language, and the nervous strength of its argumentation. It attracted the notice of the Council of Trent, who passed a very severe censure upon it, and though a refutation of it was undertaken by a Spanish and Italian Bishop, it remains yet unanswered. Originally written in Latin, it was translated into the Greek, French, Italian, Spanish, and Dutch languages. To Peter Martyr, Bullinger, and many other foreign Protestants, it gave infinite satisfaction. An English version by a lady, Anne the second daughter of Sir Anthony Cook, and the wife of the Lord Keeper Sir Nicholas Bacon, was published for the use of the common people in 1564, and ordered to be kept in every parish-church throughout England and Wales. This great and good prelate, having impaired his constitution, as well by the fatigues he underwent when abroad, as by an incessant application to his studies, died Sept. 23, 1571, in the fiftieth year of his age.——Of his noble challenge to the learned of his adversaries, or to all the learned men that be alive, see " Concilia Magnæ Britanniæ," Vol. IV p. 220.

" Juelle, Mater quem tulit Devonia,
" Nutrixque fovit erudita Oxonia,
" Quem Maria ferro et igne patriâ expulit;

" Virtus

Sir Francis Drake [o], Sir Walter Raleigh [p], and many others memorable for their valour and learning [q]. He was born about the year of our Redemption, one thousand five hundred fifty

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" Virtus reduxit, præsulem fecit parens
" Elizabetha docta doctarum artium:
" Pulvis pusillus te sepulchri hic contegit,
" Quàm parva tellus nomen ingens occulit!"

BUCHANANI POEMATA, p. 3, 60.

[o] Sir FRANCIS DRAKE, the first captain who achieved the circumnavigation of the globe, was the son of a private clergyman in Devonshire. See "Prince's Worthies of Devon," p. 239, and his Life in Dr. Johnson's Works, Vol. XII. p. 63.

[p] Prince's Worthies, &c. p. 530.—" Who hath not known or " read of this prodigy of wit and fortune, Sir Walter Raleigh, a " man unfortunate in nothing but in the greatness of his wit and " advancement, whose eminent worth was such both in domestic " policy, foreign expeditions, and discoveries in art and literature, " both practic and contemplative, that it might seem at once to " conquer example and imitation." (*Howell's Familiar Letters*, p. 387.)—This great man fell a victim to the jealousy of Gondomar, the Spanish Ambassador. No one encountered danger with more intrepidity and firmness: Yet his character never shone with greater lustre, than when he patiently sustained the injurious and indecent language of the Attorney-General, Coke, at his trial.

[q] Mr. Prince, in the dedication of his " Danmonii Orientales " Illustres," or " The Worthies of Devon," observes, that " he " presents to the view of the reader such an illustrious troop of " heroes as no other country in the kingdom, no other kingdom " (in so small a tract) in Europe in all respects is able to match, " much less excel."

and three; and of parents that were not so remarkable for their extraction or riches, as for their virtue and industry, and God's blessing upon both; by which they were enabled to educate their children in some degree of learning, of which our Richard Hooker may appear to be one fair testimony, and that nature is not so partial as always to give the great blessings of wisdom and learning, and with them the greater blessings of virtue and government, to those only that are of a more high and honourable birth.

His complexion (if we may guess by him at the age of forty) was sanguine, with a mixture of choler; and yet his motion was slow, even in his youth, and so was his speech, never expressing an earnestness in either of them, but a gravity suitable to the aged. And it is observed (so far as inquiry is able to look back at this distance of time) that at his being a schoolboy, he was an early questionist, quietly inquisitive [1], "Why this was, and that was "not, to be remembered?" "Why this was "granted, and that denied?" This being mixed with a remarkable modesty, and a sweet serene quietness of nature, and with them a quick apprehension of many perplexed parts of learning, imposed then upon him as a scholar, made his master and others to believe him to have an inward blessed divine light, and therefore to consider him

[1] Principium est scientiæ quærere, et principium quærendi dubitare.

to be a little wonder. For in that, children were less pregnant, less confident, and more malleable, than in this wiser, but not better age[s].

This meekness, and conjuncture of knowledge, with modesty in his conversation, being observed by his schoolmaster, caused him to persuade his parents (who intended him for an apprentice) to continue him at school till he could find out means, by persuading his rich uncle, or some other charitable person, to ease them of a part of their care and charge; assuring them, that their son was so enriched with the blessings of nature and grace, that God seemed to single him out as a special instrument of his glory. And the good man told them also, that he would double his diligence in instructing him, and would neither expect nor receive any other reward, than the content of so hopeful and happy an employment.

This was not unwelcome news, and especially to his mother, to whom he was a dutiful and dear child; and all parties were so pleased with this proposal, that it was resolved *so it should be.* And in the mean time his parents and master laid a foundation for his future happiness, by instilling into his soul the *seeds of piety*, those conscientious principles of *loving and fearing God; of an early belief, that he knows the very secrets of our souls; that he punisheth our vices, and rewards our inno-*

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[s] The age was, perhaps, not wiser, though it might be more knowing in some respects.

cence; that we should be free from hypocrisy, and appear to man, what we are to God, because first or last the crafty man is catched in his own snare. These seeds of piety were so seasonably planted, and so continually watered with the daily dew of God's blessed Spirit, that his infant virtues grew into such holy habits, as did make him grow daily into more and more favour, both with God and man; which, with the great learning that he did attain to, hath made Richard Hooker honoured in this, and will continue him to be so to succeeding generations.

This good schoolmaster, whose name I am not able to recover, (and am sorry, for that I would have given him a better memorial in this humble monument, dedicated to the memory of his scholar), was very solicitous with John Hooker[1],

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[1] JOHN HOOKER, alias VOWELL, was born at Exeter, in 1524, of a very creditable family, being the second son of Robert Hooker, Mayor of that city. Having received his education at Oxford, where he studied the Civil Law, he travelled into Germany, and at Cologn kept his exercises in law, and took his degree there. Next he went to Strasbourg, and sojourned with Peter Martyr, by whom he was instructed in divinity. Returning home after a short stay, he travelled into France, and was prevented from proceeding into Italy and Spain by the French declaration of war against England. Hence he retired to his native town, whereof he became the first Chamberlain in 1554, and was chosen one of the Citizens for the same in the Parliament, holden at Westminster in 1571. He died in 1601, at the age of near eighty years. He assisted Holinshed in his Chronicles, and is mentioned by several writers with singular respect as an antiquary, and an historian of great accuracy and fidelity.

then Chamberlain of Exeter, and uncle to our Richard, to take his nephew into his care, and to maintain him for one year in the University, and in the mean time to use his endeavours to procure an admission for him into some College; still urging and assuring him that his charge would not continue long; for the lad's learning and manners were both so remarkable, that they must of necessity be taken notice of; and that God would provide him some second patron, that would free him and his parents from their future care and charge.

These reasons, with the affectionate rhetoric of his good master, and God's blessing upon both, procured from his uncle a faithful promise that he would take him into his care and charge before the expiration of the year following, which was performed.

This promise was made about the fourth year of the reign of Queen Mary; and the learned John Jewel (after Bishop of Salisbury) having been in the first of this Queen's reign expelled[u] out of Corpus Christi College in Oxford (of which he was

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[u] This good man was one of the first victims to Popish resentment after the accession of Queen Mary, being expelled by seven of the Fellows of his College, for attending Peter Martyr's lectures in divinity; for preaching doctrines contrary to Popery; for receiving ordination by the new form, and refusing to be present at mass. He concluded his valedictory speech, delivered on occasion of his expulsion, with these words: "Valeant studia, "valeant hæc tecta, valeat sedes cultissima literarum, valeat ju-

"cundissimus

a Fellow), for adhering to the truth of those principles of religion, to which he had assented in the days of her brother and predecessor Edward VI. and he, having now a just cause to fear a more heavy punishment than expulsion, was forced, by forsaking this, to seek safety in another nation, and, with that safety, the enjoyment of that doctrine and worship for which he suffered.

But the cloud of that persecution and fear ending with the life of Queen Mary, the affairs of the church and state did then look more clear and comfortable; so that he, and many others of the same judgment, made a happy return into England about the first of Queen Elizabeth; in which year this John Jewel was sent a commissioner or visitor of the churches of the western parts of this kingdom, and especially of those in Devonshire [x], in

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"cundissimus conspectus vestri: valete juvenes, valete socii, "valete fratres, valete oculi mei, omnes valete." His temporary dereliction of the Protestant faith, which happened soon afterward, affords a melancholy instance of the imbecility of human nature to withstand the attempts of insidious artifice. But, like Cranmer, he burst forth with sevenfold splendour from that momentary eclipse which obscured his fame.

[x] "Mr. Jewel was appointed for the western circuit, and so it "fell out fitly that he presented the first-born of his labours in "the ministry, after his return from exile, in Devonshire, and "parts adjacent; there first breaking the bread of life where first "he received the breath of life; where he endeavoured more to "win his countrymen to embrace the Reformation by preaching "and good usage, than to terrify and awe them by that great "authority the Queen's Majesty had armed him with."

(Prince's Worthies, &c. p. 422.)

which county he was born; and then and there he contracted a friendship with John Hooker, the uncle of our Richard.

In the third year of her reign, this John Jewel was made Bishop of Salisbury; and there being always observed in him a willingness to do good and oblige his friends, and now a power added to it, John Hooker gave him a visit at Salisbury, "and besought him, for charity's sake, to look "favourably upon a poor nephew of his, whom "nature had fitted for a scholar; but the estate of "his parents was so narrow, that they were unable "to give him the advantage of learning; and that "the Bishop would, therefore, become his patron, "and prevent him from being a tradesman; for "he was a boy of remarkable hopes." And though the Bishop knew men do not usually look with an indifferent eye upon their own children and relations, yet he assented so far to John Hooker, that he appointed the boy and his schoolmaster should attend him, about Easter next following, at that place; which was done accordingly: and then, after some questions and observations of the boy's learning, and gravity, and behaviour, the Bishop gave the schoolmaster a reward, and took order for an annual pension for the boy's parents, promising also to take him into his care for a future preferment; which was performed. For, about the fourteenth year of his age, which was anno 1567, he was, by the Bishop, appointed to remove to Oxford, and there to attend

Dr. Cole[y], then President of Corpus Christi College; which he did; and Dr. Cole had (according to a promise made to the Bishop) provided for him both a tutor (which was said to be the learned Dr. John Reynolds[z]) and a clerk's place in that College; which place, though it were not a full maintenance, yet with the contribution of his

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[y] Dr. WILLIAM COLE, in 1599, exchanged with Dr. John Reynolds the Presidentship of Corpus Christi College for the Deanery of Lincoln, which he did not long enjoy. He fled into Germany in the time of Queen Mary, and Anthony Wood names him as one of the exiles at Geneva engaged with Miles Coverdale and others in a new translation of the Bible. He mistakes him for his brother Thomas Cole, mentioned in "Lewis's History of "the several Translations of the Bible," p. 206.

[z] The great prodigy of learning in his time, Crakanthorp, under whom he was educated, applied to him what was said of Athanasius, "to name Reynolds is to commend virtue itself." "He alone," says Bishop Hall, in his "Decad of Epistles," (Dec. I. Ep. 7.), "was a well-furnished library, full of all "faculties, of all studies, of all learning: the memory, the read-"ing of that man were near to a miracle." He was the great champion of Protestantism against Bellarmine.

"Cum vibrat doctæ Reynoldus fulmina linguæ,
"Romanus trepidat Jupiter, et meritò."

Having succeeded Dr. Cole as President of Corpus Christi College in Oxford, he died May 21, 1607. Whilst he was public professor of divinity at Oxford, he was involved in a controversy "on the Authority of the Scripture Chronology," with Hugh Broughton, a vain and arrogant man, though the first scholar of his age in oriental literature. From the active part which he took in the conference at Hampton Court, he is classed amongst "the pillars of Puritanism and the grand favourers of Noncon-"formity."

uncle, and the continued pension of his patron, the good Bishop, gave him a comfortable subsistence. And in this condition he continued unto the eighteenth year of his age, still increasing in learning and prudence, and so much in humility and piety, that he seemed to be filled with the Holy Ghost, and even, like St. John Baptist, to be sanc-

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"formity." Yet it ought never to be forgotten, that to his exertions we are principally indebted for that noble version of the Bible which is now in use. Fuller asserts, "that his disaffection "to the discipline established in England was not so great as "some Bishops did suspect, or as more Nonconformists did "believe. No doubt, he desired the abolishing of some cere-"monies for the ease of the conscience of others, to which in his "own practice he did willingly submit, constantly wearing hood "and surplice, and kneeling at the sacrament. On his death-"bed he earnestly desired absolution, according to the form of "the Church of England, and received it from Dr. Holland, "whose hand he affectionately kissed in expression of the joy he "received thereby." *(Fuller's Church History, Book X. p. 48.)*

It has been related that *John Reynolds* was brought up in the Church of Rome, whilst his brother *William* was educated a Protestant: and that the two brothers, meeting together one day, disputed with so much energy, that each of them changed his religion on conviction from the other's arguments. This circumstance gave occasion to a copy of verses, concluding with this distich,

"Quod genus hoc pugnæ est? ubi victus gaudet uterque,
"Et simul alteruter se superâsse dolet."

To this *William Reynolds* has been ascribed an English New Testament in quarto, printed at Rheims, in 1582, translated from the vulgate Latin, and retaining many Hebrew, Greek, and Latin words, with an apparent intention of making the text less intelligible to common readers.

tified from his mother's womb, who did often bless the day in which she bare him.

About this time of his age he fell into a dangerous sickness, which lasted two months; all which time his mother, having notice of it, did in her hourly prayers as earnestly beg his life of God, as the mother of St. Augustine did that he might become a true Christian, and their prayers were both so heard as to be granted. Which Mr. Hooker would often mention with much joy, and pray that that he "might never live to occasion any sorrow "to so good a mother[a]; whom, he would often "say, he loved so dearly, that he would endeavour "to be good, even as much for her sake, as for his "own."

As soon as he was perfectly recovered from his sickness, he took a journey from Oxford to Exeter, to satisfy and see his good mother, being accompanied with a countryman and companion of his own College, and both on foot; which was then either more in fashion, or want of money or their humility made it so: But on foot they went, and took Salisbury in their way, purposely to see the good Bishop, who made Mr. Hooker and his com-

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[a] The tender anxiety of *Monica*, the wife of *Patricius*, and mother of *St. Augustine*, for the reform and conversion of her son, was abundantly recompensed by his extraordinary piety. "Misisti, Domine, manum tuam ex alto, et de hâc profundâ "caligine eruisti animam meam, cùm pro me ploraret ad te mater "mea, fidelis tua, ampliùs quàm flent matres corporea funera."
(Augustin. Confess. L. III. c. ii.)

panion dine with him at his own table; which Mr. Hooker boasted of with much joy and gratitude when he saw his mother and friends: and at the Bishop's parting with him, the Bishop gave him good counsel, and his benediction, but forgot to give him money; which when the Bishop had considered, he sent a servant in all haste to call Richard back to him; and at Richard's return the Bishop said to him, "Richard, I sent for you back "to lend you a horse which hath carried me many "a mile, and, I thank God, with much ease[b];" and presently delivered into his hand a walking-staff, with which he professed he had travelled through many parts of Germany. And he said, "Richard, I do not give, but lend you my horse; "be sure you be honest, and bring my horse back "to me at your return this way to Oxford. And "I do now give you ten groats[c], to bear your "charges to Exeter; and here is ten groats more, "which I charge you to deliver to your mother, "and tell her, I send her a Bishop's benediction "with it, and beg the continuance of her prayers

[b] While Bishop Jewel was a pupil at Oxford, the plague, which prevailed there, occasioned his removal into a country village, where he pursued his studies in a low and damp lodging-room. Thus contracting a cold, he got a lameness, which affected him to his death. Yet, notwithstanding this, most of his journeys in Germany, as well as in England, were undertaken on foot.

[c] It is well known that pieces of ten-groats, or three shillings and fourpence, were current at this time.

" for me. And if you bring my horse back to me.
" I will give you ten groats more, to carry you on
" foot to the College: and so God bless you, good
" Richard."

And this, you may believe, was performed by both parties. But alas! the next news that followed Mr. Hooker to Oxford was, that his learned and charitable patron had changed this for a better life. Which may be believed, for as he lived, so he died, in devout meditation and prayer; and in both so zealously, that it became a religious question, " Whether his last ejaculations or his soul did first enter into heaven [d]?"

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[d] " It is hard to say whether his soul or his ejaculations arrived " first in heaven, seeing he prayed dying, and died praying." *(Fuller.)*——The circumstances that attended his death are related in " Prince's Worthies," p. 428. The following beautiful lines upon him were written by Fuller:

" Holy learning, sacred arts,
" Gifts of nature, strength of parts,
" Fluent grace, an humble mind,
" Worth reform'd, and wit refin'd,
" Sweetness both in tongue and pen,
" Insight both in books and men,
" Hopes in wo, and fears in weal,
" Humble knowledge, sprightly zeal,
" A lib'ral heart, and free from gall,
" Close to friend and true to all,
" Height of courage in truth's duel,
" Are the stones that made this JEWEL.
" Let him that would be truly blest
" Wear this Jewel in his breast."

FULLER's *Abel Redivivus*, p. 314.

And now Mr. Hooker became a man of sorrow and fear: of sorrow, for the loss of so dear and comfortable a patron; and of fear for his future subsistence. But Mr. Cole raised his spirits from this dejection, by bidding him go cheerfully to his studies, and assuring him, that he should neither want food nor raiment (which was the utmost of his hopes), for he would become his patron.

And so he was for about nine months, or not much longer; for about that time the following accident did befal Mr. Hooker.

Edwin Sandys[e] (then Bishop of London, and after Archbishop of York) had also been in the

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[e] Dr. Edwin Sandys was born at Hawkshead in Westmoreland, where he founded a grammar-school. When he was reproached with being neither gentleman nor honest man, he answered, "that he would not contend for gentry, but would "defend his honesty; that his father was an honest man, and "served the King, and was a Justice of peace in his country." He and Jewel were two of the eight divines appointed by Queen Elizabeth to hold a conference with an equal number of Romanists, before the two Houses of Parliament, on certain great controversial points of their religion. While he was Archbishop of York, he spent the greater part of his time in retirement at Southwell. A very numerous family demanded from him the utmost economy. Hence he has been charged with excessive parsimony, though in the inscription on his monument, in the church of Southwell, he is called "Summè liberalis, atque misericors, "hospitalissimus." "He was," saith Fuller, "an excellent and "painful preacher, of a pious and godly life, which increased in "his old age; so that by a great and good stride, while he had "one foot in the grave he had the other in heaven. It is hard "to say, whether he was more eminent in his own virtues, or

days of Queen Mary forced, by forsaking this, to seek safety in another nation; where, for many years, Bishop Jewel and he were companions at bed and board in Germany [f]; and where, in this their exile, they did often eat the bread of sorrow, and by that means they there began such a friendship, as time did not blot out, but lasted till the death of Bishop Jewel, which was in 1571. A little before which time the two Bishops meeting, Jewel began a story of his Richard Hooker, and in it gave such a character of his learning and manners, that though Bishop Sandys was educated in Cambridge [g], where he had obliged, and had many friends; yet his resolution was, that his son Edwin [h] should be sent to Corpus Christi College

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"more happy in his flourishing posterity." His sermons, preached between 1550 and 1576, are said to have been superior to those of his contemporaries, and are yet admired as patterns of eloquence and fine writing.

[f] First at Frankfort, afterward at Strasburgh and Zurich, in which two last places they resided in the house of Peter Martyr.

[g] At St. John's College in Cambridge.

[h] Afterward Sir EDWIN SANDYS, prebendary of York, and the author of "Europæ Speculum; or, a View or Survey of the "State of Religion in the Westerne Parts of the World; wherein "the Romane Religion, and the pregnant Policies of the Church "of Rome to support the same, are notably displayed with some "other memorable Discoveries and Memorations. Hagæ Comitis. "1629." This work is dedicated to Ai * * * * Whitgift. In the

in Oxford, and by all means be equal to Mr. Hooker, though his son Edwin was then almost of the same age: For the Bishop said, "I will have a tutor for "my son, that shall teach him learning by instruc-"tion, and virtue by example: and my greatest "care shall be of the last: and (God willing) this

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the address to the reader, the editor styles the author "ingenu-"ous, ingenious, and acute: a gentleman who, as I have been "credibly informed, hath heretofore deserved right well of his "country: in the service of the Prince of Orange, and the Lords "of the States General, his Majesty of England's first friends and "allies." The reader will not be displeased with the following specimen of his mode of writing. He thus describes the various contrarieties of the state and church of Rome. "What pomp, "what riot, to that of their Cardinals? What severity of life "comparable to that of their Heremits and Capuchins? Who "wealthier than their Prelates? who poorer by vow and pro-"fession than their Mendicants? On the one side of the street, "a cloister of virgins: on the other, a stye of courtesans, with "public toleration. This day all in masks, with all looseness "and fooolery: to-morrow all in processions, whipping themselves "till the blood follow. On one door an excommunication, "throwing to hell all transgressours: on another a jubilee, or "full discharge from all transgressions. Who learneder in all "kinds of sciences than their Jesuits? What thing more ignorant "than their ordinary mass-priests? What prince so able to prefer "his servants and followers as the Pope, and in so great multi-"tude? Who able to take deeper or readier revenge on his "enemies? What pride equal unto his, making Kings kiss his "pantofle? What humility greater than his, shriving himself "daily on his knees to an ordinary priest?" Page 39.

Sir Edwin Sandys was the intimate friend of Mr. Nicholas Ferrar. On a large silver flagon belonging to the communion-plate at Little Gidding, are these inscriptions: On the handle, "For the church of little Giddinge in Huntingtonshyer." And

"Richard Hooker shall be the man into whose "hands I will commit my Edwin." And the Bishop did so about twelve months after this resolution.

And doubtless, as to these two, a better choice could not be made; for Mr. Hooker was now in the nineteenth year of his age; had spent five in the University; and had, by a constant unwearied diligence, attained unto a perfection in all the learned languages; by the help of which, an excellent tutor, and his unintermitted study, he had made the subtilty of all the arts easy and familiar to himself, and useful for the discovery of such learning as lay hid from common searchers. So that by these, added to his great reason, and his industry added to both, *he did not only know more of causes and effects; but what he knew he knew better than other men.* And with this knowledge he had a most blessed and clear method of demonstrating what he knew, to the great advantage of all his pupils (which in time were many), but especially to his two first, his dear Edwin Sandys, and his as dear George Cranmer: of which

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on the bottom of the flagon, "What Sir Edwin Sandys be-"queathed to the remembrance of friendship, his friend hath "consecrated to the honour of God's service." He died in 1629, leaving behind him five sons, all of whom, except one, forgetting their allegiance to their King, joined the Parliament in the beginning of the rebellion; his second son, Colonel Edwin Sandys, particularly disgracing his family by acts of the most savage inhumanity against the royalists.

there will be a fair testimony in the ensuing relation.

This for his learning. And for his behaviour, amongst other testimonies, this still remains of him, that in four years he was but twice absent from the chapel prayers; and that his behaviour there was such as showed an awful reverence of that God which he then worshipped and prayed to; giving all outward testimonies, that his affections were set on heavenly things. This was his behaviour towards God; and for that to man, it is observable, that he was never known to be angry, or passionate, or extreme in any of his desires; never heard to repine or dispute with Providence, but, by a quiet gentle submission and resignation of his will to the wisdom of his Creator, bore the burthen of the day with patience; never heard to utter an uncomely word: And by this, and a grave behaviour, which is a divine charm, he begot an early reverence unto his person, even from those that at other times and in other companies, took a liberty to cast off that strictness of behaviour and discourse that is required in a collegiate life. And when he took any liberty to be pleasant, his wit was never blemished with scoffing, or the utterance of any conceit that bordered upon or might beget a thought of looseness in his hearers. Thus innocent and exemplary was his behaviour in his College; and thus this good man continued till death; still increasing in learning, in patience, and in piety.

In this nineteenth year of his age he was chosen, December 24, 1573, to be one of the twenty scholars of the foundation; being elected and admitted as born in Devonshire; out of which county a certain number are to be elected in vacancies by the founder's statutes. And now he was much encouraged; for now he was perfectly incorporated into this beloved College, which was then noted for an eminent library, strict students, and remarkable scholars[i]. And indeed it may glory, that it had Bishop Jewel, Dr. John Reynolds, and Dr. Thomas Jackson[k], of that foundation.

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[i] The celebrity of this College, founded in 1516, by Dr. Richard Fox, Bishop of Winchester, was in some measure predicted by Erasmus, in a letter to his friend, Dr. John Claymond, the first President: "Mihi præsagit Animus futurum olim ut istud "Collegium, ceu Templum sacrosanctum, optimis literis dicatum, "toto terrarum orbe, inter præcipua Decora Britanniæ nume-"retur." See "Knight's Life of Erasmus," p. 211.

[k] Dr. Thomas Jackson, descended from a respectable family and born at Witton on the Wear, in the county of Durham, was designed by his parents to be a merchant in Newcastle-upon-Tyne. From this intention he was diverted by the Lord Eure, Baron of Malton, &c. through whose persuasion he was placed in Queen's College, Oxford, and from thence removed to Corpus Christi College. He was first promoted to the pleasant rectory of Winston, in his native county, and then to the vicarage of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. After a residence of some years in that town, he was invited to return to Oxford, and was appointed President of his College.

The precious manuscripts, which he left at his death, were consigned by Archbishop Sheldon to the care of Mr. Barnabas Oley.

The first famous by his learned "Apology for the "Church of England," and his "Defence of it

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Oley, who tells us, that "the reader will find in this author an "eminent excellency in that part of divinity which I make bold "to call Christology, in displaying *the great mystery of godliness*, "*God manifested in human flesh*." He adds, "He that will "carefully peruse this good author's works, shall thereby have a "goodly prospect of the Old and New Testament opened unto "him; shall mightily improve in the understanding of the holy "Bible." And in his preface to Mr. Herbert's "Country "Parson," he blesses God for the confirmation which Dr. Jackson hath given him in the Christian religion against the Atheist, Jew, and Socinian, and in the Protestant against Rome.

One part of Dr. Jackson's character is highly deserving of imitation. He willingly admitted, and was much delighted with the acquaintance and familiarity of hopeful young divines, not despising their youth, but accounting them as sons and brethren, encouraging and advising them what books to read, and with what holy preparations; lending them such books as they had need of. So placid and benign was his disposition, that no one ever went sad from his presence.

A circumstance, which occurred in his earlier life, affords an opportunity of congratulating the present age on a noble and humane institution. That circumstance is thus related by his biographer:

"Walking out with others of the company to wash himself, "he was in imminent peril of being drowned. *The depth closed* "*him round about, the weeds were wrapt about his head. He went* "*down to the bottom of the mountains, the earth with her bars was* "*about him for ever, yet God brought his soul from corruption*, "Jonah ii. 5, 6. that, like Moses from the flags, for the future "good of the church and government of the College where he "lived, there might be preserved the meekest man alive, or, like "Jonas, *there might be a prophet revived*, as afterwards he proved, "to forewarn the people of ensuing destruction, if peradventure "they

"against Harding[1]." The second, for the learned and wise manage of a public dispute with John

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"they might repent, and God might revoke the judgments "pronounced against them, and spare this great and sinful nation. "It was a long and almost incredible space of time wherein he "lay under water, and before a boat could be procured, which "was sent for rather to take out his body, before it floated, for a "decent funeral, than out of hopes of recovery of life. The "boatman discerning where he was by the bubbling of the "water, the last signs of a man expiring, thrust down his hook "at that very moment, which, by happy Providence, at the first "essay, lighted under his arm, and brought him up into the "boat. All the parts of his body were swollen into a vast pro-"portion, and although by holding his head downward they let "forth much water, yet no hopes of life appeared, therefore they "brought him to the land, and lapped him up in the gowns of "his fellow-students, the best shroud that love or necessity "could provide. After some warmth and former means renewed, "they perceived that life was yet within him, conveyed him to "the College, and commended him to the skill of Dr. Chennal, "an eminent physician of the same house, where, with much "care, time, and difficulty, he recovered, to the equal joy and "wonder of the whole society. All men concluded him to be "reserved for high and admirable purposes."

[1] Dr. Thomas Harding, educated at Winchester school, became Fellow of New College, Oxford, in 1536. He was the first King's Hebrew Professor in that University, having been appointed by Henry VIII. in, or about, 1542. He was, in the reign of King Edward VI. a constant attendant on the lectures of Peter Martyr, and displayed great zeal for the Reformed religion. A little before the King's death he exhorted the people not to shrink from the true doctrine of the gospel in the day of trouble, but to consider persecution as sent from God to try their faith. But, alas! he found himself unequal to temptation. Under Queen

Hart [m], of the Roman persuasion, about the head and faith of the church, then printed by consent

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Queen Mary he abandoned his principles, and obtained considerable preferment, a Prebend in the church of Winchester, and the Treasurership of Salisbury. On the accession of Queen Elizabeth he adhered to the religion to which he had recently conformed, and fled beyond sea to Louvain, where he distinguished himself by writing against Bishop Jewel's "Challenge." He had been Chaplain to the Duke of Suffolk, father of Lady Jane Grey. A letter from her is yet extant in Fox's "Book of "Martyrs," addressed to him in very strong language. She admonishes him to relinquish the errors of Popery, reproaches him for his apostacy, and urges many arguments to persuade him to repentance and reformation. Mr. Hooker (*Eccles. Polit. B. II.* 6.) applies to Bishop Jewel and this his antagonist, what Velleius Paterculus remarks of Jugurtha and Marius: "Sub "eodem Africano militantes in iisdem castris didicere quæ postea "in contrariis facerent." Mr. Harding and the worthiest divine that Christendom hath bred for the space of some hundreds of years, who being brought up together in one University, it fell out in them which was spoken of two others, "they "learned in the same that which in contrary camps they did "practise."

[m] A convert to Popery, styled by Camden the most learned of his brethren, known principally from his dispute with Dr. Reynolds, the particulars of which are related in "the Sum "of a Conference between John Reynolds and John Hart, touch-"ing the Head and the Faith of the Church, &c. London, 1588," approved, as it is said, by John Hart to be a true conference, and translated into Latin by Henry Parry, C. C. C. Being banished from England with other Roman priests in 1584, he was admitted of the Society of Jesus, and was much respected by his fraternity for his learning and sanctity of life.

(*Wood's Ath. Ox.*)

of both parties. And the third for his most excellent "Exposition of the Creed," and for his other treatises; all such as have given greatest satisfaction to men of the greatest learning. Nor was this man more eminent for his learning, than for his strict and pious life, testified by his abundant love and charity to all [n].

In the year 1576, February 23, Mr. Hooker's grace was given him for Inceptor of Arts; Dr. Herbert Westphaling [o], a man of noted learning, being then Vice-Chancellor, and the act following, he was completed Master, which was anno 1577, his patron, Dr. Cole, being that year Vice-Chancellor, and his dear friend, Henry Savil of Merton College, then one of the Proctors. It

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[n] In the preceding editions the name of Cardinal Poole was inserted. He was originally of Magdalen College, Oxford, where in 1515 he was admitted B. A. In 1522 Bishop Fox appointed him Fellow of Corpus Christi College, during his residence in foreign parts, but whether he came to take possession of his Fellowship is not certain.

(See Gutch's Wood's Colleges and Halls, p. 320, 398.)

[o] Otherwise Westfayling, of foreign extraction, being the grandson of Harbert, a native of Westphalia in Germany; he was Canon of Christ Church, and Vice-Chancellor of the University for one part of the year in 1576, and consecrated Bishop of Hereford in 1585-6: a man of great piety of life, and of such gravity, that he was scarce ever seen to laugh; leaving no great estate, but, as he declares in his will, such a one as would be attended with the blessing of God, as being conscious to himself that no part of it was acquired by any dishonest means.

was that Henry Savil, that was after Sir Henry Savil [r], Warden of Merton College, and Provost of Eaton: he which founded in Oxford two famous Lectures, and endowed them with liberal main-

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[r] 1576. John Underhill of New College, Pr.
And
1576. Henry Savil of Merton College, Pr. [Le Neve.]

Henry Savil, celebrated for his superior knowledge of Greek literature, his proficiency in mathematical and philosophical studies, has been styled "That magazine of learning, whose "memory shall be honourable amongst not only the learned, but "the righteous for ever." He was born at Over-Bradley, near Halifax in Yorkshire, Nov. 30, 1547, and was admitted into Merton College, Oxford, in 1561. Upon his return from his travels into France and other countries, he was appointed preceptor to Queen Elizabeth in the Greek language. He was one of the learned men, to whom the province of translating the Bible was consigned in the beginning of the reign of James I. His name is in the fifth class, among those to whom the four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Apocalypse were allotted. Nor was he less distinguished for his knowledge of English antiquities. He founded and liberally endowed two Professorships at Oxford, one of Geometry, the other of Astronomy. At this time scholastic learning and polemic divinity were principally regarded and encouraged. In the preamble of the deed, by which a salary was annexed to those two Professorships, it is expressly said that "Geometry was almost totally unknown and abandoned "in England."

One of the most important translations in the 16th century was that of the four first books of "Tacitus," and "The Life of "Agricola," by Sir Henry Savil. The valuable notes that accompanied these translations were rendered into Latin by Gruter, and published at Amsterdam. Ben Jonson has commended

tenance. It was that Sir Henry Savil that translated and enlightened the "History of Cornelius "Tacitus," with a most excellent comment; and enriched the world by his laborious and chargeable collecting the scattered pieces of St. Chrysostom and the publication of them in one entire body in Greek; in which language he was a most judicious critic. It was this Sir Henry Savil that had the happiness to be a contemporary, and a most familiar friend to our Richard Hooker, and let posterity know it.

And in this year of 1577, he was chosen Fellow of the College: happy also in being the contemporary and friend of Dr. John Reynolds, of whom I have lately spoken, and of Dr. Spencer; both of which were after and successively made Presidents

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mended this work in an epigram, which begins with these lines.....

"If, my religion safe, I durst embrace
"That strange doctrine of Pythagoras,
"I should beleeve the soule of Tacitus
"In thee, most weighty Savile, liv'd to us."

"Learning," saith Fuller, *(Holy State, p. 186.)* "hath "gained most by those books by which the printers have lost." As an instance of the truth of this remark he adds, "Our "worthy English Knight, who set forth 'the *golden-mouthed* "Father' in a silver print, was a loser by it." To the excellency of this edition a learned foreigner hath given his testimony by applying to it the line in Horace.

"Nil oriturum aliàs, nil ortum tale fatemur."

of his College: men of great learning and merit, and famous in their generations.

Nor was Mr. Hooker more happy in his contemporaries of his time and college, than in the pupilage and friendship of his Edwin Sandys and George Cranmer; of whom my reader may note, that this Edwin Sandys was after Sir Edwin Sandys, and as famous for his "Speculum Europæ" as his brother George[q] for making posterity be-

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[q] GEORGE SANDYS, the friend of Lucius Lord Viscount Falkland, the seventh and youngest son of Archbishop Sandys, not less illustrious for his exalted piety, than for his accomplishments as a gentleman and a scholar, was born at Bishopthorp, near York, in 1577. He travelled through several parts of Europe, and visited many countries and cities in the East. The "History of his Travels," a work written by himself, is at this day read with great satisfaction. He translated "Ovid's "Metamorphoses" into English verse: but he delighted chiefly in exercising his genius on sacred subjects. He is acknowledged to be the first poet of his age.—In the parish-register of Boxley in Kent, where he died, is this entry. "Georgius Sandys "poetarum Anglorum sui sæculi princeps sepultus fuit Martii 7. "stilo Angliæ. An. Dom. 1643." Mr. Dryden declares him to be the best versifier of the times in which he lived, and in the opinion of Mr. Pope, English poetry owes much of its present beauty to his translations. Nor are his original compositions less elegant and correct. To justify the character given of him as a poet by Walton, I subjoin his "Version of the VIII Psalm:"

"Lord, how illustrious is thy name!
"Whose power both heav'n and earth proclame!
"Thy glory thou hast set on high,
"Above the marble-arched sky.

"The

holden to his pen by a learned relation and comment on his dangerous and remarkable travels; and for his harmonious translation of the Psalms of David, the book of Job, and other poetical parts of holy writ, into most high and elegant verse.—And for Cranmer, his other pupil, I shall refer my reader to the printed testimonies of our learned Mr. Camden [r],

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"The wonders of thy power thou hast
"In mouths of babes and sucklings plac'd:
"That so thou mightst thy foes confound,
"And who in malice most abound.
"When I, pure heav'n, thy fabric see,
"The moon and stars dispos'd by thee:
"O what is man or his frail race,
"That thou shouldst such a shadow grace!
"Next to thy angels most renown'd,
"With majesty and glory crown'd:
"The king of all thy creatures made;
"That all beneath his feet hath laid:
"All that on dales or mountains feed,
"That shady woods or deserts breed;
"What in the airy region glide,
"Or through the rowling ocean slide.
"Lord, how illustrious is thy name!
"Whose pow'r both heav'n and earth proclaims!"

King, Bishop of Chichester, who himself translated the Psalms for the use of the common people, observes that Mr. George Sandys was too elegant for the vulgar use, changing both the metre and tunes wherewith they had been long acquainted.

[r] "Cecidit tamen ex Anglis Cranmerus pro-rege ab epistolis, vir eruditissimus, et ipsi eo nomine longè charissimus."
(*Camden, Annal. Regin. Eliz. sub An.* 1600.)

the Lord Tottenes [s], Fines Morison [t], and others.

"This Cranmer, whose Christian name was "George, was a gentleman of singular hope, the "eldest son of Thomas Cranmer, son of Edmund "Cranmer, the Archbishop's brother: he spent "much of his youth in Corpus Christi College "in Oxford, where he continued Master of Arts "for many years before he removed, and then "betook himself to travel, accompanying that "worthy gentleman Sir Edwin Sandys into "France, Germany, and Italy, for the space of "three years; and after their happy return, he "betook himself to an employment under Secre-"tary Davison [u]; after whose fall he went in

[s] Sir George Carew, created by Charles I. Earl of Totnes, and celebrated for his military exploits in Ireland, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He was the author of "Pacata Hibernia; "or, the History of the Wars in Ireland, especially within the "Province of Munster, in the Years 1599, 1600, 1601, and "1602."

[t] Mr. Morrison, Secretary to Lord Mountjoy, and author of "An Itinerary, containing his ten Years Travels through the "twelve Dominions of Germany, Bohmerland, Switzerland, "Denmark, Poland, England, Scotland, and Ireland; divided "into three Parts. London, 1617." Fol. Published after his death, and originally written in Latin.

[u] William Davison, Esq. one of the Principal Secretaries of State to Queen Elizabeth, a plain and honest man, without policy, and totally unskilled in the dark intrigues of a court. His conduct with respect to the warrant granted for the execution of Mary Queen of Scots has been variously reported. (See the

" place of Secretary with Sir Henry Killigrew [x] in " his embassage into France; and after his death

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the State Trials, 1583. 30 *Eliz.)* The fullest credit may probably be given to his own assertions in the Star-Chamber, when he protested before God and the commissioners that were appointed to try him, " That wittingly or willingly he had done " nothing in this thing but that which he was persuaded in his " conscience the Queen willed. In which if he had carried him- " self to do any part either by unskilfulness or negligence, he " could not choose but be grievously sorry, and undergo willingly " the censure of the commissioners." When he was sentenced, Sir Edmond Anderson, one of his judges, said of him, that herein he had done " justum non justè," and so, acquitting of all malice, censured him for indiscretion. *(Fuller's Worthies, Lincolnshire, p.* 161.)——" In the reign of Queen Elizabeth we " read of one, whom the grandees of the Court procured to be " made Secretary of State, only to break his back in the business " of the Queen of Scots, whose death they were then projecting. " Like true courtiers, they first engage him in that fatal scene, " and then desert him in it; using him only as a tool, to do a " present state-job, and then to be reproached and ruined " for what he had done."

(Dr. South's twelve Sermons, 1698, *p.* 137.)

[x] Sir H. Killigrew, the husband of Katherine, the fourth daughter of Sir Anthony Cook, no less renowned than her three sisters for her knowledge of the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin languages. An epitaph on this learned lady was written by Andrew Melville. *(See also Buchanani Poemata, p.* 351.) Fuller has preserved some Latin verses composed by her on the following occasion: Her husband Sir Henry Killigrew, being designed by Queen Elizabeth Ambassador for France in troublesome times, when the employment, always difficult, was then apparently dangerous, this affectionate wife wrote these verses to Mildred Cecil, her eldest sister, to use her interest with the

"he was sought after by the most noble Lord "Mountjoy [1], with whom he went into Ireland, "where he remained, until in a battle against the "rebels near Charlingford, an unfortunate wound "put an end both to his life and the great hopes "that were conceived of him [2]."

Betwixt Mr. Hooker and these his two pupils, there was a sacred friendship; a friendship made up of religious principles, which increased daily by a similitude of inclinations to the same recreations and studies; a friendship elemented in youth and in an University, free from self-ends, which the

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the Lord Treasurer her husband, that Sir Henry might be excused from that service:

"Si mihi quem cupio cures, Mildreda, remitti,
"Tu bona, tu melior, tu mihi sola soror.
"Sin malè cunctando retines, vel trans mare mittes,
"Tu mala, tu pejor, tu mihi nulla soror.
"It si Cornubiam, tibi pax sit et omnia læta!
"Sin mare, Cecili nuntio bella, vale."

(Biograph. Brit. in the article COOK ANTHONY, *p. 1456.)*

[1] An accomplished and brave soldier. Queen Elizabeth, confiding in her own princely judgment and opinion, had formed so favourable an opinion of his worth and conduct, that she would have him and none other to finish and bring the Irish war to a propitious end, which, not deceiving her good conceit of him, he nobly achieved, though with much pains and carefulness.

(Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 665.)

[2] Of the spirited behaviour of Mr. George Cranmer in opposition to the Fellows of Corpus Christi College who were inclined to Popery, see Strype's Life of Archbishop Parker, p. 266.

friendships of age usually are not. In this sweet, this blessed, this spiritual amity, they went on for many years: And, as the holy prophet saith, so "they took sweet counsel together, and walked in "the house of God as friends." By which means they improved it to such a degree of amity as bordered upon heaven; a friendship so sacred, that when it ended in this world, it began in the next, where it shall have no end.

And though this world cannot give any degree of pleasure equal to such a friendship; yet obedience to parents, and a desire to know the affairs, and manners, and laws, and learning of other nations, that they might thereby become the more serviceable unto their own, made them put off their gowns and leave Mr. Hooker to his College: where he was daily more assiduous in his studies, still enriching his quiet and capacious soul with the precious learning of the philosophers, casuists, and schoolmen; and with them the foundation and reason of all laws, both sacred and civil; and with such other learning as lay most remote from the track of common studies. And as he was diligent in these; so he seemed restless in searching the scope and intention of God's spirit revealed to mankind in the Sacred Scripture; for the understanding of which, he seemed to be assisted by the same spirit with which they were written; he that regardeth truth in the inward parts, making him to understand wisdom secretly. And the good man would often say, "The Scrip-

"ture was not writ to beget pride and disputations, "and opposition to government; but moderation, "and charity, and humility, and obedience, and "peace, and piety in mankind; of which no good "man did ever repent himself upon his death-"bed." And that this was really his judgment did appear in his future writings, and in all the actions of his life. Nor was this excellent man a stranger to the more light and airy parts of learning, as music and poetry; all which he had digested, and made useful; and of all which the reader will have a fair testimony in what follows [a].

Thus he continued his studies in all quietness for the space of three or more years; about which time he entered into Sacred Orders, and was made both Deacon and Priest; and not long after, in obedience to the College Statutes, he was to preach either at St. Peter's, Oxford [b], or at St. Paul's

[a] In 1579 Mr. Hooker read the Hebrew Lecture at Oxford, during the indisposition of Mr. Thomas Kingsmill, Fellow of Magdalen College, who in 1565 was elected Public Orator, and in 1569 Hebrew Professor. This circumstance, mentioned by Walton, in the earlier editions of Mr. Hooker's Life, was afterward omitted; as also the account of his expulsion from his College in 1579, with his immediate restoration. This expulsion probably did not happen, or the cause of it was so frivolous as not to deserve notice.

[b] The Fellows of Corpus Christi College in Oxford are obliged by their own statutes to preach at Paul's Cross, or St. Peter's in Oxford, in Lent, before they can be admitted to the degree of

Cross[c], London, and the last fell to his allotment.

In order to which sermon, to London he came, and immediately to the Shunamites-House; which is a house so called; for that, besides the stipend paid the preacher, there is provision made also for his lodging and diet two days before, and one day

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Bachelor in Divinity. There were no sermons preached before the University at the time of the foundation of C. C. C. but in Lent. The University Church is of a later date.

[c] We learn from Stowe, that in the midst of the churchyard of St. Paul's was a pulpit cross of timber, mounted upon steps of stone, and covered with lead, in which were sermons preached by learned divines every Sunday in the forenoon, when the Court and the Magistrates of the city, besides a vast concourse of people, usually attended. Dugdale mentions "its leaded cover." This circumstance explains Owen's epigram entitled "Paul's "Crosse and the Crosse in Cheap opposite St. Peter's Church."

"*Aurea* cur *Petro* posita est *Crux, plumbea Paulo?*
"*Paulinam* decorant *aurea* Verba Crucem."

In foul and rainy weather these solemn sermons were preached at a place called "The Shrouds," which was, it seems, by the side of the Cathedral Church, under a covering or shelter. In the Pepysian Collection at Magdalen College in Cambridge, is a drawing of the pulpit at Paul's Cross, as it appeared in 1621.—During the wars of York and Lancaster Paul's Cross was a mere state engine.

"Here is th' indictment of the good Lord Hastings,
"Which, in a set hand, fairly is ingross'd;
"That it may be to-day read o'er *in Paul's.*"

SHAKSPEAR'S RICHARD III. *Act.* III. *Sc.* VI.

It was at Paul's Cross that in the beginning of the Reformation the Rood of Grace, whose eyes and lips were moved with wires,

after his sermon. This house was then kept by John Churchman, sometimes a draper of good note in Wattling-street, upon whom, after many years of plenty, poverty had at last come like an armed man, and brought him into a necessitous condition; which, though it be a punishment, is not always an argument of God's disfavour, for he was a vir-

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wires, was exposed to the view of the people and destroyed by them. It was a place of general resort, where the citizens met, like the Athenians of old, for the sake of hearing and telling of news. "A man was asked whether he was at the sermon at "Paul's Cross? And he answered that he was there: and being "asked what news there? Marry, quoth he, wonderful news." And it was sometimes a subject of complaint, that the people walked up and down in the sermon-time, and that there was such buzzing and hussing in the preacher's ear, that it made him oft to forget his matter.

It seems to have been within the province of the Bishop of London, to summon from the Universities, or from other places, persons of the best abilities to preach there. Sandys, when Bishop of London, in an address to the Lord Treasurer Burghley and the Earl of Leicester, concerning seditious preachers, tells them that "he does what he can to procure fit men to preach *at "the Cross*, but that he cannot know their hearts." *(Strype's Whitgift, Appendix, p. 9.)* For the due providing these sermons, and for the encouragement of the preachers, Bishop Aylmer was a great benefactor.

When Bishop Jewel was a pupil at Oxford, Mr. Parkhurst, his tutor, gave him "Tindal's Translation of the Bible" to read, himself overlooking Coverdale's. Observing Jewel's acute remarks on these two versions, he exclaimed, "Surely Paul's Cross "will one day ring of this boy." Prophesying, as it were, says my author, of that noble sermon of his at Paul's Cross, in 1560, on 1 *Cor.* xi. 23. *(Prince's Worthies of Devon.)*

tuous man: I shall not yet give the like testimony of his wife, but leave the reader to judge by what follows. But to this house Mr. Hooker came so wet, so weary, and weather-beaten, that he was never known to express more passion, than against a friend that dissuaded him from footing it to London, and for hiring him no easier a horse, (supposing the horse trotted when he did not); and at this time also, such a faintness and fear possessed him, that he would not be persuaded two days quietness, or any other means could be used to make him able to preach his Sunday's sermon; but a warm bed, and rest, and drink proper for a cold, given him by Mrs. Churchman, and her diligent attendance added unto it, enabled him to perform the office of the day, which was in or about the year 1581.

And in this first public appearance to the world, he was not so happy as to be free from exceptions against a point of doctrine delivered in his sermon, which was, that "in God there were two wills; "an antecedent, and a consequent will: his first "will, that all mankind should be saved; but his "second will was, that those only should be saved, "that did live answerable to that degree of grace "which he had offered or afforded them." This seemed to cross a late opinion of Mr. Calvin's[4],

[4] Of this distinguished divine, the founder of the Church of Geneva, see Mr. Hooker's Preface to his "Ecclesiastical "Polity," Sect. II.

and then taken for granted by many that had not a capacity to examine it, as it had been by him, and had been since by Dr. Jackson, Dr. Hammond [e], and others of great learning, who believe that a contrary opinion trenches upon the honour and justice of our merciful God. How he justified this, I will not undertake to declare; but it was not excepted against (as Mr. Hooker declares in an occasional answer to Mr. Travers) by John Elmer, then Bishop of London [f], at this time one of his

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[e] The name of Dr. HAMMOND requires no eulogy. His excellent writings fully demonstrate his piety and learning. It is remarked of him, that, after all his great acquisitions, the scholar was less eminent than the Christian: That his speculative knowledge, which gave light to the most dark and difficult points, became eclipsed by the more dazzling lustre of his practice.

[f] The conduct of AYLMER, Bishop of London, in the scenes of public life, has been accurately described by the industrious pen of Mr. Strype. It will be sufficient to notice one trait of his character, which displayed itself in his care of Lady Jane Grey, to whom he was tutor. Such was the suavity of his disposition, so gently, so pleasantly, and with such fair allurements to learning, did he instruct her, that she thought all the time nothing whilst she was with him. "And when I am called "from him," said this accomplished young woman, "I fall on "weeping, because whatsoever I do else but learning, is full of "grief, trouble, fear, and wholly misliking to me. And thus "my book has been so much my pleasure, and bringeth daily to "me more pleasure and more, that in respect of it all other "pleasures in very deed be but trifles and troubles to me." (*Ascham's Schoolmaster.*)—On this occasion Roger Ascham thus exclaims in a Latin letter to this lady. "O Elmarum meum "felicissimum, cui talis contigit discipula, et te multò feliciorem,

"quæ

auditors, and at last one of his advocates too, when Mr. Hooker was accused for it.

But the justifying of this doctrine did not prove of so bad consequence, as the kindness of Mrs. Churchman's curing him of his late distemper and cold, for that was so gratefully apprehended by Mr. Hooker, that he thought himself bound in conscience to believe all that she said: So that the good man came to be persuaded by her, that "he "was a man of a tender constitution;" and, "that "it was best for him to have a wife, that might "prove a nurse to him; such a one, as might both "prolong his life, and make it more comfortable; "and such a one, she could and would provide for "him, if he thought fit to marry." And he not considering, that "the children of this world are "wiser in their generation than the children of "light;" but, like a true Nathaniel, who feared no guile, because he meant none, did give her such power as Eleazar was trusted with, when he was

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"quæ eum Præceptorem nacta es: Utrique certè et tibi quæ "discis et illi qui docet et gratulor et gaudeo."

"That which I taught," says Mr. Hooker (*Answer to Mr Travers's Supplication, Sect. VIII.*) "was at Paul's Cross; it "was not huddled in amongst other matters in such sort that it "could pass without noting: It was opened, it was proved, it "was some reasonable time stood upon. I see not which way "my Lord of London, who was present and heard it, can excuse "so great a fault as patiently without rebuke or controulment "afterward to hear any man there teach otherwise than the "word of God doth."

sent to choose a wife for Isaac; for even so he trusted her to choose for him, promising upon a fair summons to return to London, and accept of her choice; and he did so in that or the year following. Now, the wife provided for him was her daughter Joan, who brought him neither beauty nor portion; and for her conditions, they were too like that wife's, which is by Solomon compared to a dripping house: So that he had no reason to "rejoice in the wife of his youth," but rather to say with the holy prophet, "Wo is me that I am "constrained to have my habitation in the tents "of Kedar[s]!"

This choice of Mr. Hooker's (if it were his choice) may be wondered at; but let us consider that the Prophet *Ezekiel* says, "There is a wheel "within a wheel;" a secret sacred wheel of Providence (especially in marriages) guided by his hand, that "allows not the race to the swift," nor "bread "to the wise," nor good wives to good men: And he that can bring good out of evil (for mortals are blind to such reasons) only knows why this blessing was denied to patient Job, and (as some think) to meek Moses, and to our as meek and patient Mr. Hooker. But so it was; and let the reader cease to wonder, for *affliction is a divine diet*; which though it be unpleasing to mankind, yet Almighty God hath often, very often imposed it

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s Anthony Wood pronounces the wife of Mr. Hooker to have been a silly clownish woman, and withal a mere Xantippe.

as good, though bitter physic to those children whose souls are dearest to him.

And by this means the good man was drawn from the tranquillity of his College; from that garden of piety, of pleasure, of peace, and a sweet conversation, into the thorny wilderness of a busy world; into those corroding cares that attend a married priest, and a country parsonage; which was Draiton Beauchamp[h] in Buckinghamshire, (not far from Ailsbury, and in the diocese of Lincoln); to which he was presented by John Cheney, Esq. (then patron of it) the 9th of December, 1584, where he behaved himself so, as to give no occasion of evil, but (as St. Paul adviseth a minister of God) "In much patience, in "afflictions, in anguishes, in necessities, in poverty, "and no doubt in long-suffering;" yet troubling no man with his discontents and wants[i].

And in this mean condition he continued about a year; in which time his two pupils, Edwin

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[h] Drayton Beacham, R. St. Mary, in the Deanery of Muralley, in the Archdeaconry of Bucks. Bishop Gauden is mistaken when he relates that Mr. Hooker was preferred to this living by his College. Lord Cheyne presented his clerk to this rectory in 1708. *(Bacon's Liber Regis, p. 495.)*

[i] By this inconsiderate marriage his Fellowship was immediately vacated. Dr. Gauden's ignorance of this unfortunate event has occasioned him to assign several reasons why Mr. Hooker forsook an academic life, and chose to consign the rich treasury of his learning to the retiredness and obscurity of a country parsonage.

Sandys and George Cranmer, were returned from travel, and took a journey to Draiton to see their tutor; where they found him with a book in his hand (it was the "Odes of Horace"), he being then tending his small allotment of sheep in a common field; which he told his pupils he was forced to do, for that his servant was then gone home to dine, and assist his wife to do some necessary household business. When his servant returned and released him, his two pupils attended him unto his house, where their best entertainment was his quiet company, which was presently denied them; for Richard was called to rock the cradle; and their welcome was so like this, that they stayed but next morning, which was time enough to discover and pity their tutor's condition: and having in that time remembered and paraphrased on many of the innocent recreations of their younger days, and by other such like diversions, given him as much present pleasure as their acceptable company and discourse could afford him, they were forced to leave him to the company of his wife, and seek themselves a quieter lodging [k]. But at their parting from him, Mr. Cranmer said, "Good tutor, I am sorry your lot is fallen in no "better ground, as to your parsonage; and more

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[k] How strongly is this unpleasing domestic scene contrasted by the gentle manners, the exalted piety, the extensive charity, the saint-like humility of that excellent woman, the wife of Mr. George Herbert?

"sorry your wife proves not a more comfortable "companion after you have wearied your thoughts "in your restless studies." To whom the good man replied, "My dear George, if saints have "usually a double share in the miseries of this "life, I, that am none, ought not to repine at "what my wise Creator hath appointed for me; "but labour, as indeed I do daily, to submit to "his will, and possess my soul in patience and "peace[l]."

At their return to London, Edwin Sandys acquaints his father (then Bishop of London, and after Archbishop of York), with his tutor's sad condition, and solicits for his removal to some benefice that might give him a more comfortable subsistence; which his father did most willingly grant him, when it should next fall into his power. And not long after this time, which was in the year 1585[m], Mr. Alvy, Master of the Temple,

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[l] On the stone which covers the body of Thomas a Kempis is his effigy, and that of another person extending to him a label whereon is written a question to this purpose:—

"Oh! where is PEACE, for thou its paths hast trod?"

To which Kempis is represented as answering—

"In poverty, retirement, and with God."

(*The Amaranth*, 1767, p. 25.)

[m] RICHARD ALVY was also the first canon of the fifth stall in the collegiate church of St. Peter, Westminster. The Mastership of the Temple was vacated by his death in August 1584.

died, who was a man of a strict life, of great learning, and of so venerable behaviour, as to gain such a degree of love and reverence from all men that knew him, that he was generally known by the name of Father Alvy. At the Temple reading, next after the death of this Father Alvy, the Archbishop of York being then at dinner with the Judges, the Reader, and Benchers of that society, he there met with a condolement for the death of Father Alvy, a high commendation of his saint-like life and of his great merit both to God and man; and as they bewailed his death, so they wished for a like pattern of virtue and learning to succeed him. And here came in a fair occasion for the Archbishop to commend Mr. Hooker to Father Alvy's place, which he did with so effectual an earnestness, and that seconded with so many other testimonies of his worth, that Mr. Hooker was sent for from Draiton Beauchamp to London, and there the Mastership of the Temple proposed unto him by the Bishop, as a greater freedom from his country cares, the advantage of a better society, and a more liberal pension than his parsonage did afford him. But these reasons were not powerful enough to incline him to a willing acceptance of it: his wish was rather to gain a better country-living, where he might be *free from noise*, (so he expressed the desire of his heart), and eat that bread, which he might more properly call his own, in privacy and quietness. But notwithstanding this averseness, he was at last persuaded to accept

of the Bishop's proposal; and was by patent for life[n] made Master of the Temple the 17th of March, 1585, he being then in the 34th year of his age[o].

And here I shall make a stop; and that the reader may the better judge of what follows, give him a character of the times, and temper of the people of this nation, when Mr. Hooker had his admission into this place: a place which he accepted, rather than desired; and yet here he promised himself a virtuous quietness; that blessed tranquillity which he always prayed and laboured for; that so he might in peace bring forth the fruits of peace, and glorify God by uninterrupted prayers and praises; for this he always thirsted; and yet this was denied him. For his admission

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[n] This you may find in the "Temple Records." William Ermstead was Master of the Temple at the dissolution of the Priory, and died 2 Eliz. Richard Alvy, Bat. Divinity, Pat. 13 Feb. 2 Eliz. Magister sive custos domûs et ecclesiæ novi Templi; died 27 Eliz.—Richard Hooker succeeded that year by patent, in terminis, as Alvy had it, and he left it 38 Eliz.—That year Dr. Belgey succeeded Richard Hooker.

[o] On this occasion two other candidates were proposed—Mr. Walter Travers and Dr. Nicholas Bond the Queen's chaplain. The former, commended by Alvy himself on his death-bed to be master after him, was supported by the interest of the Lord Treasurer Burghley; the latter, named to the Queen by Archbishop Whitgift, was afterward admitted President of Magdalen College, Oxford, and much abused by Martin Mar-Prelate.

(Stryp.)

into this place was the very beginning of those oppositions and anxieties, which till then this good man was a stranger to, and of which the reader may guess by what follows.

In this character of the times, I shall by the reader's favour, and for his information, look so far back as to the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth; a time in which the many pretended titles to the Crown, the frequent treasons, the doubts of her successor, the late civil war, and the sharp persecution that had raged to the effusion of so much blood in the reign of Queen Mary, were fresh in the memory of all men; and these begot fears in the most pious and wisest of this nation, lest the like days should return again to them or their present posterity. The apprehension of which dangers begot an earnest desire of a settlement in the church and state: believing there was no other way to make them sit quietly under their own vines and fig-trees, and enjoy the desired fruit of their labours. But time, and peace, and plenty, begot self-ends; and those begot animosities, envy, opposition, and unthankfulness for those blessings for which they lately thirsted, being then the very utmost of their desires, and even beyond their hopes.

This was the temper of the times in the beginning and progress of her reign; and thus it continued too long: for those very people that had enjoyed the desires of their hearts in a reformation from the church of Rome became at

last so like the grave, as never to be satisfied; but were still thirsting for more and more: neglecting to pay that obedience to government and perform those vows to God, which they made in their days of adversities and fears; so that in a short time there appeared three several interests, each of them fearless and restless in the prosecution of their designs; they may for distinction be called the "active Romanists," the "restless Noncon-"formists," (of which there were many sorts), and the "passive, peaceable Protestant [p]." The councils of the first considered and resolved on in Rome; the second in Scotland, in Geneva, and in divers selected, secret, dangerous conventicles both there and within the bosom of our own nation; the third pleaded and defended their cause by established laws, both ecclesiastical and civil; and if they were active, it was to prevent the other two from destroying what was by those known laws happily established to them and their posterity.

I shall forbear to mention the very many and dangerous plots of the Romanists against the church and state; because what is principally intended in this digression is an account of the opinions and activity of the Nonconformists; against whose judgment and practice Mr. Hooker became at last, but most unwillingly, to be engaged in a

[p] This word is here used in a more limited sense to denote a member of the Church of England.

book war; a war which he maintained, not as against an enemy, but with the spirit of meekness and reason.

In which number of Nonconformists, though some might be sincere and well-meaning men, whose indiscreet zeal might be so like charity, as thereby to cover a multitude of errors, yet of this party there were many that were possessed of an high degree of spiritual wickedness; I mean with an innate, restless, radical pride and malice; I mean not those lesser sins which are more visible and more properly carnal, and sins against a man's self, as gluttony, drunkenness, and the like (from which, good Lord, deliver us); but sins of a higher nature, because more unlike to the nature of God, which is love, and mercy, and peace, and more like the devil (who is no glutton, nor can be drunk, and yet is a devil); those wickednesses of malice and revenge, and opposition, and a complacence in working and beholding confusion (which are more properly his work, who is the enemy and disturber of mankind; and greater sins, though many will not believe it); men whom a furious zeal and prejudice hath blinded, and made incapable of hearing reason, or adhering to the ways of peace; men whom pride and self-conceit had made to over-value their own wisdom, and become pertinacious, and to hold foolish and unmannerly disputes against those men which they ought to reverence, and those laws which they ought to obey; men that laboured and joyed

to speak evil of government [q], and then to be the authors of confusion (of confusion as it is confusion); whom company, and conversation, and custom had blinded, and made insensible that these were errors; and at last became so restless and so hardened in their opinions, that like those who perished in the gainsaying of Korah, so these died without repenting these spiritual wickednesses; of which Coppinger and Hacket [r], and their adherents, are too sad testimonies.

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[q] If we give credit to the historians of these times, the picture here exhibited is far from being drawn in too strong colours. Alas! the love of domination, and an uninterrupted opposition to the measures of government, have too faithfully characterised the manners of those Nonconformists. From the combination of such unamiable qualities, what other consequences could be expected than those which actually burst forth with irresistible fury? What opinion James I. entertained of them, appears from the following extract from the "Basilicon Doron:"—"Take heed, therefore, my son, of such puritans, very pests in "the church and commonwealth, whom no deserts can oblige, "nor promises bind; breathing nothing but sedition and "calumnies; aspiring without measure, railing without reason, "and making their own imaginations, without any warrant of "the Word, the square of their consciences. I protest before "the great God, and since I am here as upon my testament, it "is no place for me to lie in, that ye shall never find with any "Highland or Borderer thieves greater ingratitude, and more "lies and vile perjuries, than with these fanatic spirits."

[r] William Hacket, illiterate and of the meanest extraction, from habits of the lowest profligacy, and the most abandoned wickedness, assumed the appearance of a saint, pretending to have an inward call, and to be favoured with a [illegible] al revelation. With

And in these times, which tended thus to confusion, there were also many others that pretended to tenderness of conscience, refusing to submit to ceremonies, or to take an oath before a lawful magistrate: and yet these very men did in their secret conventicles covenant and swear to each other, to be assiduous and faithful in using their best endeavours to set up a church government that they had not agreed on. To which end there were many select parties that wandered up and down, and were active in sowing discontents and sedition, by venomous and secret murmurings, and a dispersion of scurrilous pamphlets and libels against the church and state; but especially against the Bishops: by which means, together with very bold, and as indiscreet sermons, the common people

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With him were associated Edmund Coppinger, a person of better family, and some others, who declared themselves chosen vessels, proclaimed war against the Bishops, and scrupled not to menace the safety of the Queen herself, unless she promoted their schemes of reform. The madness of fanaticism has no bounds. Hacket was at length announced by his followers (ministers of the Geneva discipline) to be "the supreme monarch of the world, "from whom all the Princes of Europe held their sceptres, to "be a greater prophet than Moses or John Baptist, even Jesus "Christ, who was come with his fan in his hand to judge the "world." He was apprehended and convicted, and, after uttering the most horrid blasphemies, was hanged by the common executioner. Coppinger starved himself in prison. The contagion quickly spread on all sides, whilst ecclesiastical authority was rudely opposed and trampled under foot.

(See Kennet's History of England, Vol. II. p. 563; and Carte's Hist. Vol. III. p. 637; and Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 68.)

became so fanatic, as St. Peter observes there were in his time, "some that wrested the Scripture to "their own destruction:" So by these men, and this means, many came to believe the Bishops to be Antichrist, and the only obstructers of God's discipline; and many of them were at last given over to such desperate delusions, as to find out a text in the "Revelation of St. John," that "Anti-"christ was to be overcome by the sword," which they were very ready to take into their hands. So that those very men that began with tender meek petitions proceeded to print public admonitions; and then to satirical remonstrances; and at last (having like David numbered who was not, and who was, for their cause) they got a supposed certainty of so great a party, that they durst threaten first the Bishops, and not long after both the Queen and Parliament; to all which they were secretly encouraged by the Earl of Leicester, then in great favour with her Majesty, and the reputed cherisher and patron-general of these pretenders to tenderness of conscience, whom he used as a sacrilegious snare to further his design; which was by their means to bring such an odium upon the Bishops, as to procure an alienation of their lands, and a large proportion of them for himself: which avaricious desire had so blinded his reason, that his ambitious and greedy hopes had almost flattered him into present possession of Lambeth-House.

And to these strange and dangerous undertakings the Nonconformists of this nation were

much encouraged and heightened by a correspondence and confederacy with that brotherhood in Scotland; so that here they became so bold, that one told the Queen openly in a sermon, "She "was like an untamed heifer, that would not be "ruled by God's people, but obstructed his dis-"cipline[t]." And in Scotland they were more confident, for there they declared her an

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[s] Mr. EDWARD DERING, a puritan, the author of a book written in defence of Bishop Jewel's "Apology," against Harding. He dates this work, April 2, 1568, from Christ's College, Cambridge, and dedicates it to Thomas Wotton, his countryman, "a person "then of great learning and religion, as well as wealth, in Kent." *(Strye's Annals.)*—He is commended as a truly religious man, whose happy death was suitable to the purity and integrity of his life. *(Granger's Biogr. Hist. Vol. I. p. 215.)*——"Once preach-"ing before Queen Elizabeth, he told her, that when in perse-"cution under her sister Queen Mary, her motto was 'tanquam "ovis,' as a sheep; but now it might be 'tanquam indomita "juvenca,' as an untamed heifer. But surely the Queen still "retained much of her ancient motto 'as a sheep,' in that she "patiently endured so public (and conceived causeless) reproof, "in inflicting no punishment upon him, save commanding him "to forbear further preaching at the Court."

(Fuller's Church History.)

[t] "The Bishops have long deceived and seduced her Majesty "and her people." *(Martin's Epistle X. 53.)* The Queen was compared to Jeroboam, Ahab, Jehoram, Ahaz, Gideon, Nadab, Saul, Jehu, Asa, and Jehosaphat, in those points whereby they offended God, and she was threatened by their examples, in that having begun so well, she did not proceed to set up Christ's kingdom thoroughly.

Atheist [u], and grew to such a height as not to be accountable for any thing spoken against her; no, nor for treason against their own King, if spoken in the pulpit [x]; showing at last such a disobedience even to him, that his mother being in England, and then in distress and in prison, and in danger of death, the church denied the King their prayers for her; and at another time, when he had appointed a day of feasting, their church declared for a general fast, in opposition to his authority [y].

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[u] The case is famous of Mr. David Blake, minister of St. Andrews, who had said in his sermon, "that the King had discovered the *treachery of his heart* in admitting the Popish Lords "into the country: that all Kings were the devil's bairns; that "the devil was in the Court and in the guiders of it." And in his prayer for the Queen he used these words: "We must pray "for her for fashion's sake, but we have no cause, she will never "do us any good." He said that "the Queen of England "(Queen Elizabeth) was an Atheist; that the Lords of the "Session were miscreants and bribers; that the Nobility were "degenerated, godless, dissemblers, and enemies to the church; "that the Council were holliglasses, cormorants, and men of "no religion."

(A fair Warning to take heed of the Scottish Discipline, &c. 1649, *p.* 13. 14. *See also Spotswood's History of the Church of Scotland, p.* 420.*)*

[x] See "Bishop Spotswood's History of the Church of Scotland," p. 422, &c.

[y] "In the year 1582 Monsieur le Mot, a Knight of the Order "of the Holy Ghost, with an associate, were sent ambassadors "from France into Scotland. The ministers of Edinburgh approving not his message, though merely civil, inveigh in their "pulpits

To this height they were grown in both nations, and by these means there was distilled into the minds of the common people such other venomous and turbulent principles, as were inconsistent with the safety of the church and state; and these vented so daringly, that, beside the loss of life and limbs, the church and state were both forced to use such other severities as will not admit of an excuse, if it had not been to prevent confusion and the perilous consequences of it; which, without such prevention, would in a short time have brought unavoidable ruin and misery to this numerous nation.

These errors and animosities were so remarkable, that they begot wonder in an ingenious Italian,

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"pulpits bitterly against him, calling his 'white cross the badge "of Antichrist,' and himself 'the ambassador of a murderer.' "The King was ashamed, but did not know how to help it. "The Ambassadors were discontented, and desired to be gone. "The King, willing to preserve the ancient amity between the "two crowns, and to dismiss the Ambassadors with content, "requires the Magistrates of Edinburgh to feast them at their "departure: so they did; but to hinder this feast, upon the "Sunday preceding, the ministers proclaim a fast to be kept the "same day the feast was appointed; and to detain the people all "day at church, the three preachers make three sermons, one "after another without intermission, thundering out curses "against the Magistrates and Noblemen which waited upon the "Ambassadors by the King's appointment. Neither stayed "they here, but pursued the Magistrates with the censures of "the church for not observing the fast by them proclaimed."

(A fair Warning to take heed of the Scottish Discipline, &c. p. 25. See also Spotswood's History, p. 324.)

who being about this time come newly into this nation, writ scoffingly to a friend in his own country, "That the common people of England "were wiser than the wisest of his nation; for "here the very women and shopkeepers were able "to judge of predestination, and determine what "laws were fit to be made concerning church-"government; then, what were fit to be obeyed or "abolished. That they were more able (or at least "thought so) to raise and determine perplexed cases "of conscience, than the most learned Colleges in "Italy. That men of the slightest learning, and the "most ignorant of the common people, were mad "for a new, or super, or re-reformation of religion; "and that in this they appeared like that man, who "would never cease to whet and whet his knife, "till there was no steel left to make it useful." And he concluded his letter with this observation, "that those very men that were most busy in "oppositions, and disputations and controversies, "and finding out the faults of their governors, "had usually the least of humility and mortifica-"tion, or of the power of godliness."

And to heighten all these discontents and dangers, there was also sprung up a generation of godless men; men that had so long given way to their own lusts and delusions; and had so often and so highly opposed the blessed motions of the blessed Spirit, and the inward light of their own consciences, that they had thereby sinned themselves to a belief of what they would, but were

not able to believe: into a belief which is repugnant even to human nature (for the heathens believe there are many gods); but these have sinned themselves into a belief, that there is no God; and so finding nothing in themselves, but what is worse than nothing, began to wish what they were not able to hope for, "that they should "be like the beasts that perish;" and in wicked company (which is the Atheist's sanctuary) were so bold as to say so: though the worst of mankind, when he is left alone at midnight, may wish, but cannot then think it. Into this wretched, this reprobate condition, many had then sinned themselves.

And now, when the church was pestered with them, and with all these other irregularities; when her lands were in danger of alienation, her power at least neglected, and her peace torn in pieces by several schisms, and such heresies as do usually attend that sin; when the common people seemed ambitious of doing those very things which were attended with most dangers, that thereby they might be punished, and then applauded and pitied; when they called the spirit of opposition a tender conscience, and complained of persecution, because they wanted power to persecute others; when the giddy multitude raged, and became restless to find out misery for themselves and others; and the rabble would herd themselves together, and endeavour to govern and act in spite of authority. In this extremity, fear, and danger of the church and state, when to suppress the grow-

ing evils of both, they needed a man of prudence and piety, and of a high and fearless fortitude, they were blessed in all by John Whitgift his being made Archbishop of Canterbury; of whom ingenious Sir Henry Wotton (that knew him well) hath left this true character [z]; "That he was a man "of a reverend and sacred memory, and of the "primitive temper; a man of such a temper, as "when the church by lowliness of spirit did flourish "in highest examples of virtue."

And though I dare not undertake to add to his character, yet I shall neither do right to this discourse, nor to my reader, if I forbear to give him a further and short account of the life and manners of this excellent man; and it shall be short, for I long to end this digression, that I may lead my reader back to Mr. Hooker, where we left him at the Temple [a].

John Whitgift was born in the county of Lincoln, of a family [b] that was ancient and noted

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[z] See "Reliquiæ Wottonianæ," p. 172.

[a] Isaac Walton's epitome of the life of Dr. Whitgift, is truly excellent.

> ....." a hand or eye
> "By Hilyard drawne, is worth a history
> "By a worse painter made." Dr. Donne.

[b] Whitgift was descended from an ancient family in Yorkshire, resident at Whitgift, a town in the West-Ridling of that county. He was educated under a paternal uncle, Robert Whitgift,

to be prudent and affable, and gentle by nature. He was educated in Cambridge [c]; much of his learning was acquired in Pembroke-Hall, where Mr. Bradford [d] the martyr was his tutor: from thence he was removed to Peter-House [e]; from thence to be Master of Pembroke-Hall; and from thence to the Mastership of Trinity College. About which time the Queen made him her Chaplain, and not long after Prebendary of Ely, and then Dean of Lincoln; and having for many

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Whitgift, Abbot of a monastery in Lincolnshire, from whom he often heard the following prophetic declaration: "That they "and their religion could not long continue; because," said he, "I have read the whole Scripture over and over, and could "never find therein that our religion was founded by God:" And to support his opinion the Abbot would allege that saying of our Saviour, "Every plant which my heavenly Father hath "not planted shall be rooted out." *Matt.* xv. 13.

[c] He was first admitted of Queen's College. He afterward removed to Pembroke-Hall, the Master of that College at that time being Bishop Ridley.

[d] As holy a man as any who lived in his time, and learned also. Of him see "Fox's Book of Martyr's," and "Fuller's "Abel redivivus," p. 179.

[e] Dr. Whitgift was the great restorer of order and discipline in the University. In 1562 he was appointed Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity, the salary of the Professorship being, on account of his extraordinary merit, augmented from twenty marks to twenty pounds. He did not continue Master of Pembroke-Hall above three months, being appointed Master of Trinity College, July 4, 1567, on the death of Dr. Beaumont.

To

years past looked upon him with much reverence and favour, gave him a fair testimony of both, by giving him the Bishopric of Worcester, and (which was not an usual favour) forgiving him his first-fruits; then by constituting him Vice-president of the principality of Wales. And having for several years experimented his wisdom, his justice, and moderation in the manage of her affairs in both these places, she, in the twenty-sixth year of her reign, made him Archbishop of Canterbury, and not long after, of her Privy Council; and trusted him to manage all her ecclesiastical affairs and preferments. In all which removes, he was like the ark, which left a blessing upon the place where it rested; and, in all his employments, was like Jehoiada that did good unto Israel.

These were the steps of this Bishop's ascension to this place of dignity and cares; in which place (to speak Mr. Camden's very words, in his "Annals"), "he devoutly consecrated both his "whole life to God, and his painful labours to the "good of his church." And yet in this place he met with many oppositions in the regulation of

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To this good prelate has been applied what was said of the Roman Fabius:

"Unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem:
"Ergo póstque magísque viri nunc gloria claret."

Fuller tells us, that Whitgift's finger moved more in church matters, than the hands of all the privy counsellors besides.

(Ch. Hist. B. X. p. 218.)

church affairs, which were much disordered at his entrance, by reason of the age and remissness [f] of Bishop Grindal (his immediate predecessor), the activity of the Nonconformists, and their chief assistant the Earl of Leicester; and indeed by too many others of the like sacrilegious principles. With these he was to encounter; and though he wanted neither courage nor a good cause, yet he foresaw, that without a great measure of the Queen's favour, it was impossible to stand in the breach that was made into the lands and immuni-

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[f] Rather, according to Strype, "by reason of his suspension or sequestration which he lay under (together with the Queen's "displeasure) for some years when the ecclesiastical affairs were "managed by certain Civilians." During the latter part of his life Archbishop Grindal was confined to his house, and sequestered for a non-compliance with the directions of the Queen, when she ordered him to forbid the exercises and prophecies which were then much practised by the Puritans. He became totally blind in 1582. The resignation of his Archbishopric being frequently urged by her Majesty, was delayed from time to time, until broken down with infirmity he died July 6, 1583, aged 63 years.——Though he has been blamed for holding the reins too loose in respect to the Puritans, and for his slackness in the government of the affairs of the church, yet this has been considered as too severe a charge. Hollingshead says of him, "That he was so studious, that his book was his bride, and his "study his bride-chamber, wherein he spent both his eye-sight, "his strength, and his health."—In fact, he was a person of mild manners, and of singular moderation, and very unwilling to have recourse to extremities. Hence the Puritans claimed him as their own, though in reality no one was ever more sincerely attached to the Church of England.

ties of the church, or to maintain the remaining rights of it. And therefore by justifiable sacred insinuations, such as St. Paul to Agrippa ("Agrippa, believest thou? I know thou be- "lievest"), he wrought himself into so great a degree of favour with her, as, by his pious use of it, hath got both of them a greater degree of fame in this world, and of glory in that into which they are now entered.

His merits to the Queen, and her favours to him were such, that she called him *her little black husband*[s], and called *his servants her servants*: and she saw so visible and blessed a sincerity shine in all his cares and endeavours for the church's and for her good, that she was supposed to trust him with the very secrets of her soul, and to make him her confessor, of which she gave many fair testimonies; and of which one was,

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[s] Whitgift's name gave occasion to the Queen to make a descant upon him, expressive of her regard, calling him "her "White Gift." Mr. Hugh Broughton styled him "Archbishop "Leucodore;" and with the same allusion the following lines were written:.....

"Quid paci, Whitgifte, faves studiisque *bonorum*,
"Det tibi pacis amans *candida dona* Deus."

And a scholar at Oxford composed this epitaph upon him:.....

"Candida dona tibi, Whitegyfte, sunt nomen et omen.
"Nomen habes niveis nunc inscriptum ergo lapillis,
"Et stola pro meritus redditur alba tuis."

"That she would never eat flesh[h] in Lent, "without obtaining a license from her little "black husband:" And would often say, "she "pitied him because she trusted him, and "had eased herself by laying the burthen of "all her clergy-cares upon his shoulders, which, "she was certain, he managed with prudence and "piety."

I shall not keep myself within the promised rules of brevity in this account of his interest with her Majesty, and her care of the church's rights, if in this digression I should enlarge to particulars; and therefore my desire is, that one example may serve for a testimony of both. And that the reader may the better understand it, he may take notice, that not many years before his being made Archbishop, there passed an act[i] or acts of Parliament, intending the better preservation of church-lands, by recalling a power which was vested in others to sell or lease them, by lodging and trusting the future care and protection of them only in the crown; and amongst many that made a bad use of this power or trust of the Queen's, the Earl

[h] Licenses were granted at that time by the Archbishops of Canterbury for a man to eat flesh and white meats, even during his whole life; but with this proviso, "he do it soberly and "frugally, cautiously, and avoiding public scandal as much as "might be."

[i] 1 Eliz. cap. 19.

of Leicester[k] was one; and the good Bishop having by his interest with her Majesty put a stop to the Earl's sacrilegious designs, they two fell to an open opposition before her; after which they both quitted the room, not friends in appearance. But the Bishop made a sudden and seasonable return to her Majesty (for he found her alone), and spake to her with great humility and reverence, and to this purpose[l]:——

"I beseech your Majesty to hear me with "patience, and to believe that your's and the "church's safety are dearer to me than my life, "but my conscience dearer than both; and there-"fore give me leave to do my duty, and tell you, "that princes are deputed nursing fathers of the "church, and owe it a protection; and therefore "God forbid that you should be so much as "passive in her ruin, when you may prevent it; "or that I should behold it without horror and "detestation; or should forbear to tell your "Majesty of the sin and danger. And though "you and myself are born in an age of frailties, "when the primitive piety and care of the church's "lands and immunities are much decayed; yet,

[k] This nobleman professed a great desire of unity in the church, and yet was an earnest patron of Cartwright and others of the Puritan strain. He preferred Cartwright to the Mastership of his Hospital, founded by him at Warwick. (*Strype.*)

[l] This animated speech was delivered before the Queen in in 1578, when Whitgift was Bishop of Worcester.

"Madam, let me beg that you will but first con-
"sider, and then you will believe there are such
"sins as profaneness and sacrilege: for if there
"were not, they could not have names in holy
"writ; and particularly in the New Testament.
"And I beseech you to consider, that though our
"Saviour said, 'He judged no man;' and to
"testify it, would not judge nor divide the in-
"heritance betwixt the two brethren, nor would
"judge the woman taken in adultery, yet in this
"point of the church's rights, he was so zealous,
"that he made himself both the accuser and the
"judge, and the executioner to punish these sins;
"witnessed, in that he himself made the whip to
"drive the profaners out of the Temple, over-
"threw the tables of the money-changers, and
"drove them out of it. And consider, that it was
"St. Paul that said to those Christians of his time
"that were offended with idolatry, yet, 'Thou
"that abhorrest idols, dost thou commit sacrilege?'
"supposing, I think, sacrilege to be the greater
"sin. This may occasion your Majesty to con-
"sider, that there is such a sin as sacrilege; and to
"incline you to prevent the curse that will follow
"it: I beseech you also to consider, that Constan-
"tine [m] the first Christian Emperor, and Helena [n]

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[m] See "Ant. Univers. History," Vol. XV. p. 564, 569. "Hooker's Works," Vol. III. p. 248, Oxford edit. 1793.

[n] "Ant. Univers. Hist." Vol. II. p. 406.

" his mother; that King Edgar [o], and Edward the " Confessor [p], and indeed many others of your " predecessors, and many private Christians, have " also given to God and to his church much land, " and many immunities, which they might have " given to those of their own families, and did not, " but gave them as an absolute right and sacrifice " to God: And with these immunities and lands " they have entailed a curse upon the alienators of " them; God prevent your Majesty from being " liable to that curse.

" And to make you that are trusted with their " preservation the better to understand the danger " of it, I beseech you, forget not that, besides " these curses, the church's land and power have " been also endeavoured to be preserved, as far as " human reason, and the law of this nation, have " been able to preserve them, by an immediate " and most sacred obligation on the consciences of " the princes of this realm. For they that consult " Magna Charta shall find, that as all your pre- " decessors were at their coronation, so you also " were sworn before all the nobility and bishops " then present, and in the presence of God, and in " his stead to him that anointed you, *to maintain* " *the church lands, and the rights belonging to*

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[o] See " Collier's Ecclesiastical History," Vol. I. p. 185.

[p] Ibid. Vol. I. p. 227, 229.

"*it* [q]; and this testified openly at the holy altar, "by laying your hands on the Bible then lying "upon it. And not only Magna Charta, but "many modern statutes have denounced a curse "upon those that break Magna Charta. And "now what account can be given for the breach "of this oath at the last great day, either by your "Majesty or by me, if it be wilfully or but negli-"gently violated, I know not.

"And therefore, good Madam, let not the late "Lord's exceptions against the failings of some "few clergymen prevail with you to punish pos-"terity for the errors of this present age; let "particular men suffer for their particular errors, "but let God and his church have their right: "And though I pretend not to prophesy, yet "I beg posterity to take notice of what is already "become visible in many families; That church-"land, added to an ancient inheritance, hath "proved like a moth fretting a garment, and "secretly consumed both: or like the eagle that "stole a coal from the altar, and thereby set her "nest on fire, which consumed both her young "eagles, and herself that stole it [r]. And, though

[q] The first article of Magna Charta is "Que les Eglises de "Engleterre seront franches et aient les dreitures franches, et "enterinés, et pleniéres."

[r] This beautiful apologue is taken with some alterations from "Æsop's Fable of the Fox and the Eagle."—Apposite to this passage are the remarks in a very scarce and curious tract,

"I shall forbear to speak reproachfully of your "father, yet I beg you to take notice, that a part of "the church's rights, added to the vast treasure left "him by his father, hath been conceived to bring "an unavoidable consumption upon both, notwith-"standing all his diligence to preserve it.

"And consider, that after the violation of those "laws, to which he had sworn in Magna Charta, "God did so far deny him his restraining grace, "that he fell into greater sins than I am willing to "mention. Madam, religion is the foundation "and cement of human societies; and when they "that serve at God's altar shall be exposed to "poverty, then religion itself will be exposed to "scorn, and become contemptible; as you may

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written by Mr. Ephraim Udall, and entitled "Noli me tangere," *London*, 1642. "And it is a thing to be thought on, that many "antient families (as some intelligent men have observed) who "inherited the lands of their ancestors, *longâ serie deductâ à* "*majoribus*; when they took in some of the spoiles made in "tithes and glebe by the statute of dissolution, their possessions "quickly spued out the old possessors of them as a loathsome "thing, the bread of God proving as the bread of deceit, gravell "in their teeth; and the portion of God's ministers becoming "like antimony or some such poyson, that drunke into the "stomacke provokes such a nauceous abhorrence in it, that it "never rests till it hath emptied itself both of the poyson that "troubles it, and of whatsoever else before lay quietly and "inoffensively therein. I could therefore wish that all our "gentry would preserve their inheritances without ruin to their "posterity, would beware they bring not any spoiles of the "church into their houses, lest they be spoyled by them: for "they are like the eagle's feathers by which the Egyptians in

"their

"already observe in too many poor vicarages in "this nation. And therefore, as you are by a late "act or acts entrusted with a great power to pre-"serve or waste the church's lands; yet dispose of "them for Jesus' sake as the donors intended: "Let neither falsehood nor flattery beguile you to "do otherwise, and put a stop, I beseech you, to "the approaching ruins of God's church, as you "expect comfort at the last great day; for Kings "must be judged. Pardon this affectionate plain-"ness, my most dear Sovereign, and let me beg to "be still continued in your favour, and the Lord "still continue you in his."

The Queen's patient hearing this affectionate speech, her future care to preserve the church's

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"their hieroglyphicks signifie *pernitiosa potentia;* for they are "said to consume all feathers among which they are mingled, "as Pierius relateth of them. And to preserve them from this "sin, *that they would have a tablet hang up alwaies in the dining-"roome where they ordinarily take their repast, in which should be "drawne an altar with flesh and fire on it for sacrifice, with an "eagle ready to take wing, having in her talons a piece of flesh with "a burning coale at it, and something beside it, and higher than "the altar a tall tree with an eagle's nest in it, and the heads of her "young ones discovered above the nest, and the nest flaming with a "light fire about them, with this inscription over the altar,* NOLI ME "TANGERE NE TE ET TUOS PERDAM. *For things belonging to "the altar will certainly prove a snare to devourers of them."*—(Page 32.)——This subject is fully discussed in Dr. South's twelve sermons, printed in 1692, p. 339, 345; and by Sir Henry Spelman, in "The History and Fate of Sacrilege, discovered by "Examples of Scripture, of Heathens, and of Christians, from "the Beginning of the World, continually to this Day."

rights, which till then had been neglected, may appear a fair testimony, that he made her's and the church's good, the chiefest of his cares, and that she also thought so. And of this, there were such daily testimonies given, as begot betwixt them so mutual a joy and confidence, that they seemed born to believe and do good to each other; she not doubting his piety to be more than all his opposers, which were many, and those powerful too; nor his prudence equal to the chiefest of her council, who were then as remarkable for active wisdom, as those dangerous times did require, or this nation did ever enjoy. And in this condition he continued twenty years, in which time he saw some flowings, but many more ebbings of her favour toward all men that opposed him, especially the Earl of Leicester: so that God seemed still to keep him in her favour, that he might preserve the remaining church lands and immunities from sacrilegious alienations. And this good man deserved all the honour and power with which she trusted him; for he was a pious man, and naturally of noble and grateful principles: He eased her of all her church-cares by his wise manage of them [a]; he gave her faithful and prudent counsels in all the extremities and dangers of her temporal affairs,

[a] Mr. Hooker gave this character of Whitgift. "He always "governed with that moderation, which useth by patience to "suppress boldness, and to make them conquer that suffer; "which I think well suited with his poesy or motto, VINCIT "QUI PATITUR." (*Sir G. Paul's Life of Whitgift, p. 25.*)

which were very many; he lived to be the chief comfort of her life in her declining age; to be then most frequently with her, and her assistant at her private devotions; to be the greatest comfort of her soul upon her death-bed; to be present at the expiration of her last breath, and to behold the closing of those eyes that had long looked upon him with reverence and affection. And let this also be added, that he was her chief mourner at her sad funeral; nor let this be forgotten, that within a few hours after her death, he was the happy proclaimer, that King James (her peaceful successor) was heir to the crown.

Let me beg of my reader, that he allow me to say a little, and but a little more of this good Bishop, and I shall then presently lead him back to Mr. Hooker; and, because I would hasten, I will mention but one part of the Bishop's charity and humility; but this of both. He built a large alms-house near to his own palace at Croyden in Surry, and endowed it with maintenance for a master and twenty-eight poor men and women; which he visited so often, that he knew their names and dispositions, and was so truly humbled, that he called them brothers and sisters: And whenever the Queen descended to that lowliness to dine with him at his palace in Lambeth[1]

[1] Archbishop Grindal fell so soon under the displeasure of Queen Elizabeth, the very year after his translation from York to Canterbury, that it is probable she never honoured him with any visit at Croyden. (*Progresses of Queen Elizabeth, Vol. I. p. 65.*)

Sir

(which was very often), he would usually the next day show the like lowliness to his poor brothers and sisters at Croyden [u], and dine with them at his hospital; at which time you may believe there was joy at the table.

And at this place he built also a fair free-school, with a good accommodation and maintenance for the master and scholars; which gave just occasion for Boyse Sisi, then ambassador for the French King, and resident here, at the Bishop's death, to say, "The Bishop had published many learned "books, but a free-school to train up youth, and "an hospital to lodge and maintain aged and poor "people, were the best evidences of Christian "learning that a Bishop could leave to posterity [x]." This good Bishop lived to see King James settled

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Sir George Paul informs us, that Archbishop Whitgift entertained the Queen every year at one of his houses, so long as he was Archbishop, and some years twice or thrice; where all things were performed in so seemly an order, that she went thence always exceedingly well pleased: And besides many public and gracious favours done unto him, she would salute him and bid him farewell by the name of *black husband*, calling also his men *her servants*, as a token of her good contentment with their attendance and pains. *(Life of Whitgift*, p. 102.*)*

[u] The Archbishop's most noble foundation of his hospital, free-school, and chapel at Croyden, was finished in 1594.

[x] "Profectò hospitale ad sublevandam paupertatem et schola "ad instruendam juventutem sunt optimi libri, quos Archiepis-"copus conscribere potuit." *(Paul's Life of Whitgift*, p. 111.*)*

in peace, and then fell sick at Lambeth[1]; of which the King having notice, went to visit him, and found him in his bed in a declining condition, and very weak; and after some short discourse, the king assured him, "He had a great affection for "him, and high value for his prudence and virtues, "which were so useful for the church, that he "would earnestly beg his life of God." To which he replied, "Pro ecclesia Dei; pro ecclesia Dei[2];" which were the last words he ever spake; therein testifying, that as in his life, so at his death, his chiefest care was of God's church.

This John Whitgift was made Archbishop in the year 1583. In which busy place he continued twenty years and some months; and in which time you may believe, he had many trials of his

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[1] He was at court the first Sunday in Lent, when, being seized with a paralytic stroke that deprived him of his speech, he was first carried to the Lord Treasurer's chamber, and then conveyed to Lambeth. "On Tuesday," says Strype, "he had the honour of "a visit from the King, who, out of a sense of the great need he "should have of him at this particular juncture (now he had "laid such a scheme for reformation), told him he would pray "to God for his life, and if he could obtain it, he should think "it one of the greatest temporal blessings that could be given "him in his kingdom."

[2] Thus died this great prelate, full of years, and full of honour, actuated to the last moment of his life with that zeal which animated the illustrious Father Paul, when upon his death-bed, to breathe out his last prayer for his country, in these memorable words, "Esto perpetua." Yet it has been affirmed, that this distinguished

courage and patience; but his motto was, "Vincit, "qui patitur;" i. e. "He conquers that endures." And he made it good. Many of his many trials were occasioned by the then powerful Earl of Leicester, who did still (but secretly) raise and cherish a faction of Nonconformists to oppose him; especially one Thomas Cartwright, a man of noted learning; some time contemporary with the

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distinguished ornament of the Reformation exerted himself against the Puritans with so *unfeeling* a hand, and so *far beyond his legal power*, that upon the Queen's demise he began to be *terribly frighted* at the approach of King James's first Parliament, and *it is probable enough his apprehensions hastened his death. (Preface to the first Edition of the Confessionals.)*——Let it be remembered that he was 73 years of age at the time of his demise, so that it may not be thought quite so probable that he died of a fright. His last words, as related by Strype, certainly countenance a different opinion, "Et nunc, Domine, exaltata est anima "mea, quòd in eo tempore succubui, quando mallem episcopatûs "mei reddere rationem quàm inter homines exercere." "My "soul is lifted up, that I die in a time wherein I had rather give "up to God an account of my bishopric than any longer to "exercise it among men." To him we may surely apply what was said of Augustine: "O virum ad totius ecclesiæ publicum "utilitatem natum, factum, datumque divinitus." "Whitgift "strove," says Wilson, in his 'History of the Life and Reign of 'James I.' "to prevail over the Puritans with *sweetness and* "*gentleness;* and died in David's fulness of days, leaving a name, "like a sweet perfume, behind him."——"He was a man born "for the benefit of his country and good of his church, wherein "he ruled with such moderation, as he continued in his Prince's "favour all his life, suppressing such new sects as in his time "began to rise, as by his learned work written by him against "such schisms does appear." *(Stow.)*

Bishop in Cambridge, and of the same College [a], of which Dr. Whitgift, before he was Bishop, was Master: in which place there began some emulations (the particulars I forbear), and at last open and high oppositions betwixt them; and in which

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[a] CARTWRIGHT was excluded from his Fellowship of Trinity College for breaking a statute of that College, in not taking holy orders upon him in due time. (*Strype's Whitgift, p.* 47.)—— He was Lady Margaret's Professor in Divinity in 1569. This dignity he enjoyed a short time, being suspended for maintaining dangerous tenets concerning the government and discipline of the Church. He was highly esteemed among the Presbyterians, having received an invitation to be Divinity Professor, along with Mr. Travers, in the University of St. Andrew's in Scotland. A signal proof of his opposition to the customs and usages established in the church is given by Sir George Paul, in his "Life of Whitgift," p. 11.——"Upon a Sunday Dr. Whitgift, "the Master of Trinity College, being from home, Mr. Cartwright, "with some of his adherents, made three sermons in that one "day, wherein they so vehemently inveighed, amongst other "ceremonies of our church, against the surplice, as those of "Trinity College were so moved therewith, that at evening "prayer they cast off their surplices, though against the statutes "of the house, and were all placed in the chapel without surplice, "three only excepted. By reason of which stirs, both that "private College was greatly distracted, and the whole Univer-"sity much perplexed and troubled."——Of the controversy between Archbishop Whitgift and Mr. Cartwright, the latter of whom objected to the liturgy and to the form and manner of cathedral service, and particularly "to the tossing the Psalms "from one side to the other, like tennis balls;" for thus he denominates the practice of choral and antiphonal singing. See *Sir John Hawkins's Hist. of Music, Vol. III. p.* 491, 492.

When the Nonconformists were undetermined which of them should undertake to answer "Whitgift's Reply," Mr. Cartwright was chosen for that employment by lot.

versies, but incline his hearers to piety and moderation: and this promise he kept during his life, which ended 1602, the Archbishop surviving him but one year, each ending his days in perfect charity with the other [c].

And now after this long digression, made for the information of my reader concerning what

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that in 1585 he refused to give it. "I am content and ready to "be at peace with him, so long as he liveth peaceably; yet doth "my conscience and duty forbid me to give unto him any "further public approbation, until I be better persuaded of his "conformity."

(Letter of Whitgift to the Earl of Leicester, July 17, 1585.*)*

[c] And thus should all controversies end; or rather, if there must be controversies, thus should they commence, and be conducted with mutual charity and mutual forbearance. If truth and not victory be the object of pursuit, why should the topic of debate be canvassed with animosity or personal invective? Thomas Cartwright, the Archbishop's old antagonist, was alive in 1601, and grew rich at his hospital at Warwick, preaching at the chapel there, saith my author, very temperately according to the promise made by him to the Archbishop. Which mildness of his some ascribed to his old age and more experience. But the latter end of next year he deceased, out-lived little above two months by the Archbishop, who yet was much his elder in years. And now at the end of Cartwright's life to take our leave of him with a fairer character, it is remarkable what a noble and learned man (Sir H. Yelverton) writes of some of his last words:— "*That he seriously lamented the unnecessary troubles he had caused "in the Church, by the schism he had been the great fomenter of, "and wished to begin his life again, that he might testify to the "world the dislike he had of his former ways:*" and in this opinion he died. *(Strype's Life of Whitgift, p. 554.)*

follows, I bring him back to the venerable Mr. Hooker, where we left him in the Temple, and where we shall find him as deeply engaged in a controversy with Walter Travers[d], a friend and favourite of Mr. Cartwright's, as Dr. Whitgift had ever been with Mr. Cartwright himself; and of which, I shall proceed to give this following account.

And first this, that though the pens of Mr. Cartwright and Dr. Whitgift were now at rest, and had been a great while, yet there was sprung up a new generation of restless men, that by company and clamours became possessed of a faith

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[d] WALTER TRAVERS, formerly Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, was called by Fuller, "the Neck," as Cartwright was termed by him "the Head, of the Presbyterian party." They were intimate friends and joint preachers to the English Factory at Antwerp. When Travers came into England, he was appointed chaplain to Lord Burghley, through whose influence he was made Lecturer at the Temple. He is the supposed author of the book "De Disciplinâ Ecclesiasticâ," written in Latin against the government of the Church of England, and containing the ground and model of the Puritan discipline. Archbishop Whitgift, in a letter to the Queen, to whom Travers was recommended as a proper person to be chosen Master of the Temple, on the death of Father Alvy, describes him as "one of the chief "and principal authors of dissension in the church, a contemner "of the book of prayers and other orders by authority established; "an earnest seeker of innovation; and either in no degree of "the ministry at all, or else ordered beyond the seas not accord-"ing to the form in this Church of England used." Mr. Travers was ordained at Antwerp, May 8, 1578, by Cartwright, Villers, and others, the heads of a congregation there.

which they ought to have kept to themselves, but could not; men that were become positive in asserting, "that a Papist cannot be saved;" insomuch, that about this time, at the execution of the Queen of Scots, the Bishop that preached her funeral sermon (which was Dr. Howland, then Bishop of Peterborough [e]), was reviled for not

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[e] Dr. RICHARD HOWLAND, Master of St. John's College in Cambridge, and the fourth Bishop of Peterborough, died in 1600. It does not appear that he was the preacher on this occasion.

Gunton, in his "History of the Church of Peterborough," page 73, &c. has given a circumstantial account of the funeral of Mary Queen of Scots, on Tuesday August 1, 1587, six months after her death, for she was beheaded in the castle of Fotheringay, February 8, in that year. He relates that the Bishop of Lincoln (Wickham) preached out of the 39th Psalm, 5, 6, 7. *Lord, let me know my end and the number of my days, &c.* In the prayer, when he gave thanks for such as were translated out of this vale of misery, he used these words:—*Let us give thanks for the happy dissolution of the high and mighty Princess Mary, late Queen of Scotland and Dowager of France, of whose life and death at this time I have not much to say, because I was not acquainted with the one, neither was I present at the other. I will not enter into judgment further; but, because it hath been signified to me that she trusted to be saved by the blood of Christ, we must hope well of her salvation: "For," as Father Luther was wont to say, "many one "that liveth a Papist, dieth a Protestant."* In the discourse of his text, he only dealt with general doctrine of the vanity of all flesh.

In the Supplement subjoined to "Gunton's History," p. 331, the subject of the sermon is resumed——"Bishop Morton, in "his 'Protestant Appeal,' l. iv. c. 1. hath given the best account "I meet with of that passage (which in the 'Apology of the "Roman Church' is taken out of 'Martin Mar-Prelate') in the

being positive for her damnation. And besides this boldness of their becoming Gods, so far as to set limits to his mercies, there was not only "Martin Mar-prelate [f]," but other venomous books

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"Bishop of Lincoln's sermon at her (the Queen of Scots) funeral, "which made so great noise among factious people, who reported "that *he prayed his soul and the souls of all there present might be* "*with the soul of the Queen deceased.* But the truth of the story, "he says, is this, that the reverend Bishop now mentioned, un-"derstanding how that great and honourable personage in the "last act of her life renounced all presumption of her own "inherent righteousness, and wholly affianced her soul unto "Christ, in belief to be justified only by his satisfactory justice, "did therefore conceive hope of her salvation by virtue of that "cordial prescribed by the holy Apostle, viz. *that where sin* "*aboundeth, the grace of God doth superabound.* Which the "Apostle hath ministered for the comfort of every Christian, "who, erring by ignorance, shall (by sincere repentance, "especially for all known sins) depart from this mortal life, "having the heel or end of it shod with this preparation of the "gospel of peace: not of the new Romish, but of the old Catholic "faith, which is the faith of all Protestants. And this con-"sideration of that our preacher cannot but now worthily "condemn the Apologists of partial prejudice, who chose rather "to be informed concerning that sermon by (as they confess) a "reproachful traducer and libeller, than (which they might easily "have done) by testimony of a thousand temperate and indifer-"ent hearers then present."

[f] In 1588 many libels, full of low scurrility, and petulant satire, were published against the Bishops. They were principally written by a society of men, assuming the name of "Martin Mar-Prelate." They appeared under various titles, as "Diotrephes;" "The Minerals;" "The Epistle to the Confe-"cation House;" "Have you any Work for a Cooper?" in answer

daily printed and dispersed; books that were so absurd and scurrilous, that the graver divines disdained them an answer. And yet these were grown into high esteem with the common people,

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answer to what Cowper, Bishop of Winchester, had written in vindication of the Bishops and Church of England; "More "Work for a Cooper," &c. &c. The authors of these publications were John Penry, a Welshman, John Udal, and other ministers.

John Penry, or John ap Henry, was in 1593 arraigned at the King's Bench, Westminster, upon the statute of the 23 Eliz. c. 2. made *against seditious words and rumours uttered against the Queen*, and soon after executed hastily, being brought in an afternoon out of the King's Bench prison, in Southwark into St. Thomas Waterings, a place of execution, on that side the river Thames, and there hanged. *(Strype.)*

We are informed by Dr. Heylin in his "History of the "Presbyterians," that the men who assumed this name of "Martin Mar-Prelate" called the Archbishop "Pope of Lambeth;" "the Canterbury Caiaphas;" "Esau;" "a monstrous Anti-"christian Pope." The Bishops were named "Petty Popes," "Petty Antichrists," "Incarnate Devils," &c. whilst the inferior clergy were "Popish Priests," "Monks," "Ale-"hunters," &c.

What effects were produced by these writings we learn from "Brightman upon the Revelation," p. 149. "There was," says he, "one that called himself by the name of 'Martin Mar-"Prelate,' who set forth books wherein he dealt somewhat "roundly with the angel, i. e. the Bishops of the Church of "England. How were those bitter jests of his favoured among "the people? how willingly, greedily, and with what great "mirth were they every where entertained? There is no man "so rude and unskilful, but that pondering that time in his "mind would say thus to himself, and that not without cause, "*Truly the Lord hath poured out contempt upon Princes; those*

till Tom Nash[g] appeared against them all, who was a man of a sharp wit, and the master of a scoffing, satirical, merry pen, which he employed to discover the absurdities of those blind, malicious, senseless pamphlets, and sermons as senseless as they. Nash's answers being like his books, which bore these titles, "*An Almond for a Parrot;*" "*A Fig for my Godson;*" "*Come crack me this* "*Nut,*" and the like; so that his merry wit made such a discovery of their absurdities, as (which is strange) he put a greater stop to these malicious pamphlets, than a much wiser man had been able.

"*that honour him doth he honour, and those that despise him shall* "*be despised. He hath made our priests contemptible to the whole* "*people, because they have broken their covenant.*"

[g] The three titles mentioned by Walton belong all to one pamphlet, which Gabriel Hervie supposes to be written by Lylly.—Mr. Thomas Nash, a man of a facetious and sarcastic disposition, was the author of numerous tracts to which he gave quaint names, as "*The Apology of Pierce Penniless; or, Strange* "*News,*" &c—"*Have with you to Saffron Walden:*"—"*Pappe* "*with a Hatchet; alias, a Fig for my Godson; or, Crack me* "*this Nutt; or, a Country Cuffe, that is, a sound Box of the Ear* "*for the Idiot Martin to hold his Peace; written by one that dare* "*call a Dog a Dog.*" He wrote with great pleasantry and wit against a set of men, who at that time boldly pretended to prognostications and astronomical predictions.

"..... Ridiculum acri
"Fortius ac meliùs magnas plerumque secat res." Hor.

From the various tracts written by Nash, the commentators on Shakespear have happily elucidated and explained several obscure passages of their great poet.

And now the reader is to take notice, that at the death of Father Alvy, who was Master of the Temple, this Walter Travers was Lecturer there for the evening sermons, which he preached with great approbation, especially of the younger gentlemen of that society, and for the most part approved by Mr. Hooker himself, in the midst of their oppositions. For he continued Lecturer a part of his time; Mr. Travers being indeed a man of competent learning, of winning behaviour, of a blameless life. But he had taken orders by the Presbyters in Antwerp [h], and if in any thing he was transported, it was in an extreme desire to set up that government in this nation: for the promoting of which he had a correspondence with Theodore Beza at Geneva [i], and others in Scotland; and was one of the chiefest assistants to Mr. Cartwright in this design.

Mr. Travers had also a particular hope to set up this government in the Temple, and to that

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[h] The Testimonial of his ordination at Antwerp, May 14, 1578, is inserted in "Fuller's Church History," B. IX. p. 214.

[i] Strype has drawn a comparison between these two rival preachers.—"Hooker was a true man to the church as established: Travers was not so. Hooker was for universal redemption, and taught the decrees of God concerning the salvation of mankind by Jesus Christ in more latitude: Travers was for the more rigid way, for absolute exclusion of the greatest part of mankind from it, and to be shut up under a decree of reprobation and rejection. These and other opinions caused different doctrines to be preached in the same pulpit morning and afternoon."

end used his endeavours to be Master of it; and his being disappointed by Mr. Hooker's admittance, proved some occasion of his opposition of Mr. Hooker's sermons publicly in the pulpit: Many of which were concerning the doctrine, discipline, and ceremonies of this church; and Mr. Hooker again publicly justified his doctrine against the other's exceptions: insomuch, that as St. Paul withstood St. Peter to his face, so did they. For as one hath pleasantly expressed it, "the forenoon sermons speak Canterbury, and the "afternoon's Geneva."

In these sermons there was little of bitterness, but each party brought all the reasons he was able, to prove his adversary's opinions erroneous. And thus it continued for a time till the oppositions became so high, and the consequences so dangerous, especially in that place, that the prudent Archbishop put a stop to Mr. Travers's preaching by a positive prohibition [k]; against which Mr.

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[k] That prohibition was chiefly because of his foreign ordination. Their different characters as preachers are thus delineated by Dr. Gauden:—"Mr. Travers was a more plausible and "profitable preacher to vulgar auditors, as well as more popular, "having much more of the oratorian decoy, a pleasing voice, a "pathetic pronunciation, and an insinuating fashion or gesture "to captivate his auditors by his agreeable presence, vigorous "speech, and graceful activity; nor were his texts and matter "usually ill-chosen, or impertinently or dully handled, upon "practical heads and common places of divinity. Mr Hooker "was more profound, and the other more fluent: different gifts "they had from the same Spirit, for several uses of the church, "to

Travers appealed and petitioned[1] her Majesty and her Privy Council to have it recalled, where he met with many assisting powerful friends; but

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"to the same end of God's glory and souls' good, though in "different ways of ministration." *(Hooker's Life, p. 30.)*

According to Fuller, the manner of silencing Travers gave great offence. "For all the congregation on a Sabbath in the "afternoon were assembled together, their attention prepared, "the cloth, as I may say, and napkins were laid, yea the guests "set, and their knives drawn for their spiritual repast, when "suddenly, as Mr. Travers was going up to the pulpit, a sorry "fellow served him with a letter, prohibiting him to preach any "more. In obedience to authority, the mild and constant sub-"mission whereunto won him respect with his adversaries, "Mr. Travers calmly signified the same to the congregation, "and requested them quietly to depart to their chambers. "Thus was our good Zacharias struck dumb in the Temple, "but not for infidelity; unpartial people accounting his fault at "most but indiscretion. Meantime his auditory (pained that "their pregnant expectation to hear him preach should so pub-"licly prove abortive, and sent sermonless home) manifested in "their variety of passion, some grieving, some frowning, some "murmuring, and the wisest sort, who held their tongues, "shaked their heads, as disliking the managing of the matter." *(Fuller's Church Hist. B. IX. p. 217.)*—Upon his expulsion from the Temple he was appointed Provost of Trinity College in Dublin, at the instance of his old friend and fellow collegian Adam Loftus, Archbishop of Dublin. He afterward resigned that office, and returned to England, where he lived many years in obscurity, but with much quiet and contentment.

[1] "The Supplication made to the Council by Mr. Walter "Travers," and "Mr. Hooker's Answer to it, addressed to my "Lord of Canterbury his Grace," are usually printed with Mr. Hooker's works.

"God is not to us so certain, as that which we "perceive by sense." And Mr. Hooker confesseth he said so, and endeavours to justify it by the reasons following:

"First: I taught that the things which God "promises in his word are not surer to us than "that we touch, handle or see: but are we so sure "and certain of them? If we be, why doth God "so often prove his promises to us as he doth, by "arguments drawn from our sensible experience? "for we must be surer of the proof than of the "things proved; otherwise it is no proof. For "example, how is it that many men looking upon "the moon at the same time, every one knoweth "it to be the moon as certainly as the other doth? "but many believing one and the same promise "have not all the same fulness of persuasion. "For how falleth it out, that men being assured "of any thing by sense can be no surer of it than "they are; when as the strongest in faith that "liveth upon the earth has always need to labour, "strive, and pray, that his assurance concerning "heavenly and spiritual things may grow, increase, "and be augmented?"

The sermon that gave him the cause of this his justification makes the case more plain, by declaring, "that there is, besides this certainty of "evidence, a certainty of adherence[m]." In which,

[m] The discourse alluded to is entitled "A learned and comfortable Sermon on the Certainty and Perpetuity of Faith in "the

having most excellently demonstrated what the certainty of adherence is, he makes this comfortable use of it: "Comfortable," he says, "as to "weak believers, who suppose themselves to be "faithless, not to believe, when notwithstanding "they have their adherence; the Holy Spirit hath "his private operations, and worketh secretly in "them, and effectually too, though they want the "inward testimony of it."

Tell this to a man that hath a mind too much dejected by a sad sense of his sin; to one that, by a too severe judging of himself, concludes that he wants faith, because he wants the comfortable assurance of it; and his answer will be, "Do not "persuade me, against my knowledge, against "what I find and feel in myself: I do not, I know "I do not believe." (Mr. Hooker's own words follow.) "Well then, to favour such men a little "in their weakness, let that be granted which they "do imagine; be it, that they adhere not to God's "promises, but are faithless and without belief. "But are they not grieved for their unbelief? "They confess they are. Do they not wish it "might, and also strive that it may be otherwise? "We know they do. Whence cometh this but "from a secret love and liking, that they have of

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"the Elect, especially of the Prophet Habakkuk's Faith. "Habak. i. 4. Whether the Prophet Habakkuk, by admitting "this Cogitation into his Mind, *The Law doth fail*, did thereby "shew himself an Unbeliever."

"those things believed? For no man can love "those things which in his own opinion are not; "and if they think those things to be, which they "shew they love, when they desire to believe "them; then must it be, that, by desiring to be-"lieve, they prove themselves true believers: for "without faith no man thinketh that things be-"lieved are: which argument all the subtilties of "infernal powers will never be able to dissolve." This is an abridgment of part of the reasons he gives for his justification of this his opinion, for which he was excepted against by Mr. Travers.

Mr. Hooker was also accused by Mr. Travers, for that he, in one of his sermons [n], had declared, "That he doubted not but that God was merciful "to save many of our forefathers living heretofore "in Popish superstition, for as much as they "sinned ignorantly [o];" and Mr. Hooker in his answer professeth it to be his judgment, and

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[n] "A learned Discourse of Justification, Works, and how the "Foundation of Faith is overthown. Habakkuk i. 4. *The "Wicked doth compass about the Righteous; therefore perverse "Judgment doth proceed.*"

[o] "Mr. Hooker affirmed the Church of Rome to be, though "not a pure, sound, and perfect church, yet a true one, in "which the necessary and fundamental means of salvation are "preserved, but much diseased and obscured by superstitious "superstructure, to the great danger of people's souls, and "detriment, as well as dishonour, of the Christian religion, in its "holy institutions, morals, and mysteries. Mr. Travers, on the "other side, earnestly contended against the Church of Rome, "as

declares his reasons for this charitable opinion to be as followeth:

But first (because Travers's argument against this charitable opinion of Hooker was, that they could not be saved because they sought to be justified by the merit of their works, and so overthrew the foundation of faith) he states the question about justification and works, and how the foundation of faith is overthrown; and then he proceeds to discover that way which natural men and some others have mistaken to be the way, by which they hope to attain true and everlasting happiness: and having discovered the mistaken, he proceeds to direct to that true way, by which, and no other, everlasting life and blessedness is attainable. And these two ways he demonstrates thus (they be his own words that follow): "That, "the way of nature; this, the way of grace: the "end of that way salvation merited, presupposing "the righteousness of men's works: their righte-"ousness a natural ability to do them; that "ability, the goodness of God which created them "in such perfection. But the end of this way, "salvation bestowed upon men as a gift: pre-"supposing not their righteousness, but the for-

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"as no church of Christ, but wholly a synagogue of Satan, and "the seat of Antichrist, denying salvation to all those that held "communion with her. Thus charity in the one, and zeal in "the other, both Christian and commendable graces, carried "them far from each other."

(Dr. Gauden's Life of Hooker, p. 90.)

"giveness of their unrighteousness, justification; "their justification, not their natural ability to do "good, but their hearty sorrow for not doing, and "unfeigned belief in him, for whose sake not "doers are accepted, which is their vocation; their "vocation, the election of God, taking them out of "the number of lost children; their election, a "mediator in whom to be elect: this mediation "inexplicable mercy; this mercy, supposing their "misery for whom he vouchsafed to die, and make "himself mediator."

And he also declareth, "there is no meritorious "cause for our justification but Christ; no effec-"tual but his mercy;" and says also, "we deny "the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, we abuse, "disannul, and annihilate the benefit of his passion, "if by a proud imagination we believe we can "merit everlasting life, or can be worthy of it." This belief, he declareth, is to destroy the very essence of our justification, and he makes all opinions that border upon this to be very danger-ous. "Yet nevertheless," and for this he was accused, "considering how many virtuous and "just men, how many saints and martyrs have "had their dangerous opinions, amongst which "this was one, that they hoped to make God "some part of amends by voluntary punishments "which they laid upon themselves:" because by this, or the like erroneous opinions, which do by consequence overthrow the merits of Christ, shall man be so bold as to write on their graves, "Such

"men are damned, there is for them no salvation?" St. Austin says, "Errare possum, hæreticus esse "nolo." And except we put a difference betwixt them that err ignorantly, and them that obstinately persist in it, how is it possible that any man should hope to be saved? give me a Pope or a Cardinal [p], whom great afflictions have made to know himself, whose heart God hath touched with true sorrow for all his sins, and filled with a love of Christ and his gospel; whose eyes are willingly open to see the truth, and his mouth ready to renounce all error, this one opinion of merit excepted, which he thinketh God will require at his hands; and because he wanteth, trembleth, and is discouraged, and yet can say, "Lord, cleanse me from all secret "sins!" Shall I think, because of this, or a like error, such men touch not so much as the hem of Christ's garment? if they do, wherefore should I doubt, but that virtue may proceed from Christ to save them? No, I will not be afraid to say to such a one, "You err in your opinion, but be of

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[p] "I do not," says Mr. Hooker, "propose to you a Pope with "the neck of an Emperor under his feet, a Cardinal riding his "horse to the bridle in the blood of Saints, but a Pope or a "Cardinal sorrowful, penitent, disrobed, stript not only of "usurped power, but also delivered and recalled from error and "Antichrist; converted, and lying prostrate at the foot of "Christ; and shall I think that Christ will spurn at him; and "shall I cross and gainsay the merciful promises of God, gene-"rally made unto penitent sinners, by opposing the name of a "Pope or a Cardinal." *(Hooker's Works, Vol. III. p. 485.)*

"good comfort; you have to do with a merciful "God, who will make the best of that little which "you hold well, and not with a captious sophister, "who gathered the worst out of every thing in "which you are mistaken."

But it will be said, "The admittance of merit, "in any degree, overthroweth the foundation, "excludeth from the hope of mercy, from all "possibility of salvation." (And now Mr. Hooker's own words follow):

"What though they hold the truth sincerely in "all other parts of Christian faith? although they "have in some measure all the virtues and graces "of the spirit? although they have all other "tokens of God's children in them? although they "be far from having any proud opinion that they "shall be saved by the worthiness of their deeds? "although the only thing that troubleth and "molesteth them be a little too much dejection, "somewhat too great a fear, arising from an "erroneous conceit, that God will require a wor-"thiness in them, which they are grieved to find "wanting in themselves? although they be not "obstinate in this opinion? although they be "willing, and would be glad to forsake it, if any "one reason were brought sufficient to disprove it? "although the only cause why they do not forsake "it ere they die, be their ignorance of that means "by which it might be disproved? although the "cause why the ignorance in this point is not "removed, be the want of knowledge in such

"as should be able, and are not to remove it? "Let me die," says Mr. Hooker, "if it be ever "proved, that simply an error doth exclude a "Pope or Cardinal in such a case utterly from the "hope of life. Surely, I must confess, that if it "be an error to think that God may be merciful "to save men, even when they err, my greatest "comfort is my error: were it not for the love I "bear to this error, I would never wish to speak "or to live."

I was willing to take notice of these two points, as supposing them to be very material; and that as they are thus contracted, they prove useful to my reader; as also that the answers be arguments of Mr. Hooker's great and clear reason, and equal charity. Other exceptions were also made against him, as, "that he prayed before, and not after his "sermons; that in his prayers he named Bishops; "that he kneeled both when he prayed, and when "he received the sacrament; and," says Mr. Hooker, in his defence, "other exceptions so like these, as "but to name, I should have thought a greater "fault than to commit them."

And it is not unworthy the noting, that in the manage of so great a controversy, a sharper reproof than this, and one like it, did never fall from the happy pen of this humble man. That like it was upon a like occasion of exceptions, to which his answer was, "Your next argument consists of "railing and of reasons; to your railing I say "nothing; to your reasons I say what follows."

And I am glad of this fair occasion, to testify the dove-like temper of this meek, this matchless man. Doubtless, if Almighty God had blest the dissenters from the ceremonies and discipline of this church, with a like measure of wisdom and humility, instead of their pertinacious zeal, then obedience and truth had kissed each other; then peace and piety had flourished in our nation, and this church and state had been blest like "Jerusalem, "that is at unity with itself;" but that can never be expected, till God shall bless the common people with a belief, "that schism is a sin, and that "there may be offences taken which are not given; "and that laws are not made for private men to "dispute, but to obey."

And this also may be worthy of noting, that these exceptions of Mr. Travers, against Mr. Hooker, were the cause of his transcribing several of his sermons, which we now see printed with his books; of his "Answer to Mr. Travers's Supplica-"tion;" and of his most learned and useful "Discourse of Justification, of Faith, and Works;" and, by their transcription, they fell into the hands of others, that have preserved them from being lost, as too many of his other matchless writings have been; and from these I have gathered many observations in this discourse of his life.

After the publication of his "Answer to the "Petition of Mr. Travers," Mr. Hooker grew daily into greater repute with the most learned and wise of the nation; but it had a contrary effect in

commixture of that love with reason, as was never exceeded but in holy writ; and particularly by that of St. Paul to his dear brother and fellow-labourer Philemon; than which none was ever more like this epistle of Mr. Hooker's. So that his dear friend and companion in his studies, Dr. Spencer, might after his death justly say, "What admirable height of learning and depth of "judgment dwelt in the lowly mind of this truly "humble man; with what gravity and majesty of "speech his tongue and pen uttered heavenly "mysteries; whose eyes, in the humility of his "heart, were always cast down to the ground; "how all things that proceeded from him were "breathed as from the spirit of love; as if he, like "the bird of the Holy Ghost, the dove, had wanted "gall; let those, who knew him not in his "person, judge by these living images of his soul, "his writings[r]."

The foundation of these books was laid in the Temple; but he found it no fit place to finish what he had there designed; and therefore solicited the Archbishop for a remove, to whom he spake to this purpose: "My Lord, when I lost the free-"dom of my cell, which was my college, yet I "found some degree of it in my quiet country "parsonage; but I am weary of the noise and "oppositions of this place, and indeed God and

[r] See Dr. Spencer's Address to the Reader, prefixed to the first edition of "Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity."

" Nature did not intend me for contentions, but
" for study and quietness. And, my Lord, my
" particular contests here with Mr. Travers have
" proved the more unpleasant to me, because I
" believe him to be a good man; and that belief
" hath occasioned me to examine mine own con-
" science concerning his opinions; and, to satisfy
" that, I have consulted the holy Scripture, and
" other laws, both human and divine, whether the
" conscience of him, and others of his judgment,
" ought to be so far complied with by us, as
" to alter our frame of church-government, our
" manner of God's worship, our praising and
" praying to him, and our established ceremonies,
" as often as their tender consciences shall require
" us. And, in this examination, I have not only
" satisfied myself, but have begun a treatise, in
" which I intend the satisfaction of others, by a
" demonstration of the reasonableness of our laws of
" ecclesiastical polity; and therein laid a hopeful
" foundation for the church's peace; and, so as not
" to provoke your adversary Mr. Cartwright, nor
" Mr. Travers, whom I take to be mine (but not
" mine enemy), God knows this to be my meaning.
" To which end I have searched many books, and
" spent many thoughtful hours; and, I hope not
" in vain; for I write to reasonable men. But,
" my Lord, I shall never be able to finish what I
" have begun, unless I be removed into some quiet
" country parsonage, where I may see God's bless-
" ings spring out of my mother earth, and eat mine

"own bread in peace and privacy[s]. A place where I "may, without disturbance, meditate my approaching mortality, and that great account, which all "flesh must at the last great day give to the God "of all spirits.

"This is my design; and, as these are the "desires of my heart, so they shall, by God's "assistance, be the constant endeavours of the uncertain remainder of my life. And therefore, if "your Grace can think me and my poor labours "worthy such a favour, let me beg it, that I may "perfect what I have begun; which is a blessing I "cannot hope for in this place."

About the time of this request to the Bishop, the parsonage or rectory of Boscum[t], in the diocese of Sarum, and six miles from that city, became void. The Bishop of Sarum is patron of it; but in the vacancy of that see (which was three years

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[s] Mr. Mason has happily applied this passage in an elegy to the Rev. Mr. Hurd, the present Bishop of Worcester:

"Whose equal mind could see vain Fortune shower
"Her flimsy favours on the fawning crew,
"While in low Thurcaston's sequester'd bower
"She fixt him distant from promotion's view.
"Yet shelter'd there by calm Contentment's wing,
"Pleas'd he could smile, and with sage Hooker's eye
"*See from his mother-earth God's blessings spring,*
"*And eat his bread in peace and privacy.*"

[t] Boscombe R. St. Andrew's, in the deanery of Amesbury, in the archdeaconry of Sarum.

betwixt the death of Bishop Pierce [u], and Bishop Caldwell's [x] admission into it), the disposal of that, and all benefices belonging to it during the time of this said vacancy, came to be disposed of by the Archbishop of Canterbury; and he presented Richard Hooker to it in the year 1591. And Richard Hooker was also in this said year instituted (July 17) to be a minor prebendary of Salisbury, the corps to it being Netherhavin, about ten miles from that city; which prebend was of no great value, but intended chiefly to make him capable of a better preferment in that church [y]. In this Boscum he continued till he had finished

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[u] Or rather as it is in the earlier editions, "Betwixt the "translation of Bishop Pierce to the see of York, and Bishop "Caldwell's admission into it. Dr. John Pierce, Bishop of "Salisbury, was elected to the see of York, Feb. 1, 1588, con-"firmed Feb. 17, and enthronised by proxy the 27th of the "same month. He died Sept. 28, 1594." *(Le Neve.)*

[x] JOHN CALDWELL, M. D. of St. John's College in Cambridge, was in 1591 promoted from the deanery of Rochester to the see of Salisbury, after it had been vacant three years. He died in 1596.

[y] He became prebendary of Netherhavin, and subdean of the church of Salisbury, on the resignation of Dr. Nicholas Balguy, who succeeded him in the Mastership of the Temple. This prebend remains charged in the King's books at 25*l.* 19*s.* 2*d.* and has moreover the patronage of the vicarage of Netherhavin. The preferment for which it was intended to qualify him was a residentiaryship of Sarum, the canons residentiary of that church, six in number, being elected out of the prebendaries.

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four of his eight proposed books of "The Laws of "Ecclesiastical Polity," and these were entered into the register-book in Stationers'-hall, the 9th of March 1592, but not printed till the year 1594, and then with the before-mentioned large and affectionate preface which he directs to them that seek (as they term it) the reformation of the laws and orders ecclesiastical in the church of England; of which books I shall yet say nothing more, but that he continued his laborious diligence to finish the remaining four during his life (of all which more properly hereafter); but at Boscum he finished and

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In Queen Elizabeth's time, the form of subscription, required from those who were preferred in the Church, was in these words: "We, whose names are underwritten, do declare and "unfainedly testify our assent to all and singular the Articles of "Religion, and the Confession of the true Christian faith, and "the Doctrine of the Sacrament, comprised in a book, intituled "'Articles whereupon it was agreed by the Archbishops and "Bishops of both Provinces, and the whole Clergy, in the Con-"vocation holden at London in the year of our Lord God 1562, "according to the Computation of the Church of England, for "the avoiding of the Diversities of Opinions, and for the estab-"lishing of Consent touching true Religion, put forth by the "Queen's Authority.' And in testimony of such our assents, we "have hereunto subscribed our names, with our own proper "hands, as hereafter followeth."

Among those who subscribed to this form, "it pleased me," saith Dr. Bernard, "to find the hand of the reverend and learned "Mr. Hooker thus subscribing: 'Per me RICHARDUM HOOKER, "Clericum, in Artibus Magistrum, præsentatum ad Canonicatum "et Præbendam de Nether-haven, in Ecclesiâ cathedrali Sarum, "17 Julii, 1591.'" *(Clavi Trabales.)*

published but only the first four, being then in the 39th year of his age.

He left Boscum in the year 1595, by a surrender of it into the hands of Bishop Caldwell, and he presented Benjamin Russel, who was instituted into it, the 23d of June in the same year.

The parsonage of Bishop's-Borne, in Kent, three miles from Canterbury, is in that Archbishop's gift, but in the latter end of the year 1594, Dr. William Redman, the rector of it, was made Bishop of Norwich; by which means the power of presenting to it was *pro ca vice* in the Queen; and she presented Richard Hooker, whom she loved well, to this good living of Borne, the 7th of July, 1595, in which living he continued till his death, without any addition of dignity or profit.

And now having brought our Richard Hooker from his birth-place, to this where he found a grave, I shall only give some account of his books, and of his behaviour in this parsonage of Borne, and then give a rest both to myself and my reader.

His first four books and large epistle have been declared to be printed at his being at Boscum, anno 1594[7]. Next I am to tell, that

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[7] Mr. Hooker sent a written copy of his book, in 1592, to the Lord Treasurer Burghley, accompanied with the following letter:

"My duty in most humble manner remembered. So it is, "my good Lord, that manifoldness affection causes those things to

at the end of these four books, there is printed this advertisement to the reader:—" I have for " some causes thought it at this time more fit " to let go these first four books by themselves, " than to stay both them and the rest, till the " whole might together be published. Such " generalities of the cause in question as are " here handled, it will be perhaps not amiss to

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" to be don, which would rather be forborn, if men were " wholly guided by judgment. Albeit, therefore, I must needs " in reason condemne myself of over-great boldness for thus " presuming to offer to your Lordship's view my poor and " slender labours: yet, because that which moves me so to do " is a dutiful affection some way to manifest itself; and glad " to take this present occasion for want of other more worthy " your Lordship's acceptation. I am in that behalf not out " of hope your Lordship's wisdom wil the easier pardon my " fault; the rather because myself am persuaded that my " faultiness had been greater, if these writings concerning the " nobler part of those laws under which we live should not " have craved, with the first, your Lordship's favourable ap- " probation. Whose painful care to uphold all laws, and " especially the ecclesiastical, hath by the space of so many " years so apparently shewed itself: that if we who enjoy " the benefit thereof did dissemble it, they whose malice doth " most envy our good therein, would convince our unthank- " fulness. Wherefore submitting both myself, and these my " simple doings into your Lordship's most wise judgment, I " here humbly take my leave. London, the 13th of March, 1592.

" Your Lordship's most willingly at commandment,

" RICHARD HOOKER."

(From Strype's Life of Archbishop Whitgift, Appendix, B. IV. N. XVII.)

"consider apart, by way of introduction unto "the books that are to follow concerning par- "ticulars; in the mean time the reader is re- "quested to mend the printer's errors, as noted "underneath."

And I am next to declare, that his fifth book (which is larger than his first four) was first also printed by itself, anno 1597, and dedicated to his patron (for till then he chose none) the Archbishop. These books were read with an admiration of their excellency in this, and their just fame spread itself into foreign nations. And I have been told, more than forty years past, that Cardinal Allen [a], or learned Dr. Stapleton [b] (both

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[a] See "Collier's Eccles. Hist." Vol. II. p. 643. "Wood's Ath. Ox." Vol. I. p. 268, and the inscription on Cardinal Allen's monument in the chapel of the English College at Rome. "Biograph. Brit." Vol. I. p. 80. [H.]

He was for some time Fellow of Oriel College, and Principal of St. Mary Hall. He displayed the most ardent zeal in defending the religion of his ancestors, left his country in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and fled to France. Here he distinguished himself by taking under his protection the English refugees, many of whom he placed in two seminaries at Douay and Rheims. He was rewarded by Pope Sixtus V. with a Cardinal's hat in 1587, with the title of Cardinal of St. Martin's in the Mount. In 1589, he was appointed Archbishop of Mechlin in Brabant, and died about 1594. Pope Gregory XIII. entertained so high an opinion of him, that he introduced him to his Cardinals in these words, "Venite, fratres mei, ostendam vobis Alanum."

[b] We learn from the letter of King, Bishop of Chichester, to Mr. Isaac Walton, that Dr. Stapleton was the person who named

Englishmen, and in Italy when Mr. Hooker's four books were first printed), meeting with this general fame of them, were desirous to read an author that both the reformed and the learned of their own church did so much magnify; and therefore caused them to be sent for; and after reading of them boasted to the Pope (which was then Clement the Eighth), "That though he "had lately said, he never met with an English "book whose writer deserved the name of an "author; yet there now appeared a wonder to "to them, and it would be so to his Holiness, if it "were in Latin; for a poor obscure English priest "had wrote four such books of laws and church-"polity, and in a style that expressed so grave "and such humble majesty, with clear demon-"stration of reason, that in all their readings they "had not met with any that exceeded him:" and this begot in the Pope an earnest desire that Dr. Stapleton should bring the said four books, and, looking on the English, read a part of them

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named "Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity" to Pope Clement VIII. Thomas Stapleton, D. D. descended from a noble and ancient family in the county of Sussex, left England on account of his religion, and retired into Flanders. He read lectures in divinity at Douay, and afterward, at the express invitation of the King of Spain, filled the Professor's chair at Louvain. He was esteemed for his virtues and his learning, being classed second to Bellarmine in controversial skill. He was born in 1535, and died at Louvain in 1598. His works were printed at Paris in 1620, in four volumes folio.

(Wood's Ath. Ox. Vol. I. p. 298.)

to him in Latin, which Dr. Stapleton did, to the end of the first book; at the conclusion of which, the Pope spake to this purpose: "There is no "learning that this man hath not searched into; "nothing too hard for his understanding: This "man indeed deserves the name of an author; "his books will get reverence by age, for there "is in them such seeds of eternity, that if the "rest be like this, they shall last till the last fire "shall consume all learning."

Nor was this high, the only testimony and commendations given to his books; for at the first coming of King James into this kingdom, he inquired of the Archbishop Whitgift for his friend Mr. Hooker, that writ the books of Church-polity; to which the answer was, that he died a year before Queen Elizabeth, who received the sad news of his death with very much sorrow; to which the King replied, "And I receive it "with no less, that I shall want the desired "happiness of seeing and discoursing with that "man, from whose books I have received such "satisfaction: Indeed, my Lord, I have received "more satisfaction in reading a leaf, or paragraph, "in Mr. Hooker, though it were but about the "fashion of churches[c], or church-music[d], or the

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[c] "Eccles. Polit." B. v. Sect. 14.

[d] This subject is most excellently discussed in "Eccles. Polit." B. v. Sect. 38.

"like, but especially of the sacraments[e], than I "have had in the reading particular large treatises "written but of one of those subjects by others, "though very learned men: and, I observe, there "is in Mr. Hooker no affected language; but a "grave, comprehensive, clear manifestation of "reason; and that backed with the authority "of the Scripture, the fathers, and schoolmen, "and with all law both sacred and civil. And "though many others write well, yet in the next "age they will be forgotten; but doubtless there "is in every page of Mr. Hooker's book the "picture of a divine soul, such pictures of truth "and reason, and drawn in so sacred colours, that "they shall never fade, but give an immortal "memory to the author." And it is so truly true, that the King thought what he spake; that, as the most learned of the nation have and still do mention Mr. Hooker with reverence; so he also did never mention him but with the epithet of *learned*, or *judicious*, or *reverend*, or *venerable* Mr. Hooker.

Nor did his son, our late King Charles I.[f] ever mention him but with the same reverence, enjoining his son, our now gracious King, to be studious in Mr. Hooker's books. And our learned

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[e] Eccles. Polit. B. v. Sect. 50.

[f] Charles I. a few days before his death, recommended to his dearest children the diligent reading of the first five books of

antiquary Mr. Camden, in his "Annals of Eliz." mentioning the death, the modesty, and other virtues of Mr. Hooker, and magnifying his books, wished, "that, for the honour of this and benefit "of other nations, they were turned into the "the universal language[g]." Which work, though undertaken by many, yet they have been weary, and forsaken it; but the reader may now expect it, having been long since begun, and lately finished, by the happy pen of Dr. Earle[h], now

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of "The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity," even next the Bible, as an excellent means to satisfy private scruples, and settle the public peace of this church and kingdom. And in his will he bequeathed to the Princess Elizabeth, his daughter, the Sermons of Bishop Andrews; Archbishop Laud's book against Fisher, which, he said, would ground her against Popery; and Mr. Hooker's "Ecclesiastical Polity."

[g] "Richardi Hooker scripta ante annos multos vidi, et quan-"quam in sermone mihi non percognito facilè cognovi exacti-"simi operis utilitatem: quæ tanta est, ut hunc quoque librum "verti, sed in Latinum sermonem, pervelim." *(Grotius in Epistolâ ad Mer. Casaubonum.)*—See also "Kennet's Complete History of England," Vol. II. p. 619.

[h] Dr. JOHN EARLE, author of "The World displayed; or, several Essays, consisting of the various Characters and Passions of its principal Inhabitants," was first of Christ Church, and then of Merton College in Oxford, tutor to Prince Charles, afterwards Charles I. In 1643, he was elected one of the Assembly of Divines; but he refused to act, and lost all he had for his loyalty. After the Restoration, he was Dean of Westminster, and successively Bishop of Worcester and Salisbury. He was one of the coadjutors in the revisal of our present

Lord Bishop of Salisbury, of whom I may justly say (and let it not offend him, because it is such a truth as ought not to be concealed from pos-

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present Liturgy. He is described as a very genteel man, yet religious and a contemner of the world: in his youth an excellent orator and poet; in his advanced years an admirable preacher and disputant. By the testimony of an enemy, he was a person of the sweetest and most obliging good-nature that lived in his age; and none since has lived whom God hath blessed with more innocent wisdom, more sanctified learning, or a more pious, primitive, peaceable temper. He attended the Court when they retired to Oxford from the plague, and died Nov. 17, 1665, and was buried on the 25th of that month, near the high altar in Merton College church. His body was attended to the grave from the public schools by a herald of arms, and the principal persons of the Court and University.—*See the Preface to "The World displayed."*

His "Translation of the Ecclesiastical Polity" was never printed. That of the Εικων βασιλικη was published under the title of "Imago Regis Caroli Primi, in Ærumnis et Solitudine." Hag. Com. 1649. 12mo.

"Ille qui Hookeri ingentis 'Politiam Ecclesiasticam,
"Ille qui Caroli Martyris Εικονα βασιλικην
"(Volumen quo post Apocalypsin divinius nullum)
"Legavit orbi sic Latinè redditas,
"Ut uterque unius fidei defensor
"Patriam adhuc retineat majestatem.
"Si nomen ejus necdum tibi suboleat, lector,
"Nomen ejus, ut unguenta pretiosa,
"JOHANNES EARLE, EBORACENSIS," &c.

(Inscription on Dr. Earle's monument in the choir and chancel of Merton College.)

In "The Musæ Anglicanæ," vol. i. p. 286, is a copy of elegant Latin verses written by him, on the return of the Prince from Spain; and we are informed by Lord Clarendon, that he was an excellent poet, both in Latin, Greek, and English.

terity, or those that now live and yet know him not), that since Mr. Hooker died none have lived whom God hath blessed with more innocent wisdom, more sanctified learning, or a more pious, peaceable, primitive temper; so that this excellent person seems to be only like himself, and our venerable Richard Hooker; and only fit to make the learned of all nations happy in knowing what hath been too long confined to the language of our little island[i].

There might be many more and just occasions taken to speak of his books, which none ever did or can commend too much; but I decline them, and hasten to an account of his Christian behaviour and death at Borne; in which place he continued his customary rules of mortification and self-denial; was much in fasting, frequent in meditation and prayers; enjoying those blessed returns, which only men of strict lives feel and know; and of which men of loose and godless lives cannot be made sensible; for spiritual things are spiritually discerned.

At his entrance into this place, his friendship was much sought for by Dr. Hadrian Saravia[k],

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[i] This character of Mr. Hooker's Works is confirmed by the approbation of our best writers.

[k] Dr. HADRIAN SARAVIA, the bosom friend of Whitgift, as well as of Mr. Hooker, was of Spanish extraction, and born at Hedin in Artois. He was a minister of the reformed church in Holland. Having taken the degree of Doctor in Divinity at

then one of the Prebendaries of Canterbury, a German by birth, and sometimes a pastor both in Flanders and Holland, where he had studied and well considered the controverted points concerning Episcopacy and sacrilege, and in England had a just occasion to declare his judgment concerning both, unto his brethren ministers in the Low Countries, which was excepted against by Theodore Beza and others; against whose exceptions he rejoined, and thereby became the

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at Leyden, he was afterward incorporated in the same faculty at Oxford. He came into England in 1587 or 1588. He had first removed himself to Jersey, where he taught a school, and preached to his countrymen who were exiles there. He was appointed master of the free grammar-school at Southampton, where Mr. Nicholas Fuller, the most renowned critic of his age, received his education principally under him. By him also was educated Sir Thomas Lake, Secretary of State to King James I. who said of him, "that he was a minister of "state fit to serve the greatest prince in Europe." He was successively promoted to a Prebend in the churches of Gloucester, Canterbury, and Westminster. He displayed great learning in defence of Episcopacy against Beza, when that divine, interfering with the ecclesiastical affairs of Scotland, advised the Chancellor of that kingdom to abrogate Episcopacy. He lived to the age of eighty-two years, and died in 1612. In the inscription on his monument, in the Cathedral Church of Canterbury, he is styled, "Vir in omni literarum genere eximius, "pietate, probitate, gravitate, et suavitate morum insignis, "scriptis clarus, fide plenus, et bonis operibus dives valdè." He must have acquired a very considerable knowledge of the English language, as we find his name in the first class of those whom King James I. employed to make a new and more correct version of the Bible. *(See Strype's Life of Whitgift, p. 422.)*

happy author of many learned tracts writ in Latin, especially of three; one of the Degrees of Ministers[l], and of the Bishops' Superiority over the Presbytery; a second against Sacrilege: and a third of Christian Obedience to Princes; the last being occasioned by Gretzerus[m], the Jesuit. And it is observable, that when in a time of church tumults, Beza gave his reasons to the Chancellor of Scotland for the abrogation of Episcopacy in that nation, partly by letters, and more fully in a treatise of a threefold Episcopacy (which he calls divine, human, and satanical): this Dr. Saravia had, by the help of Bishop Whitgift, made such an early discovery of their intentions, that he had almost as soon answered that treatise as it became public; and therein

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[l] 1. "De diversis Gradibus Ministrorum Evangelii." 2. "De Honore Præsulibus et Presbyteris debito." 3. "De Sacrilegio et Sacrilegorum Pœnis." The first of these tracts was written against those of the church of Geneva, who maintained the doctrine of the equality of the ministers of the gospel and a ruling presbytery. These tracts, originally written in Latin, were translated into English, and published under the titles "1. Of the diverse Degrees of the Ministers of the Gospel." 2. "Of the Honor due unto the Priestes and Prelates of the Church." 3. "Of Sacrilege, and the Punishment thereof. Job viii. 8, 9, 10." 1591. 4to.

[m] A most learned Jesuit, and the ablest controvertist of his age. He read a course of theological lectures with great reputation at Ingolstadt, where he died in 1625, aged 63 years. His works were published at Ratisbon, in 1734, in thirteen volumes folio. *(Dictionnaire Historique.)*

discovered how Beza's opinion did contradict that of Calvin's and his adherents; leaving them to interfere with themselves in point of Episcopacy. But of these tracts it will not concern me to say more, than that they were most of them dedicated to his and the church of England's watchful patron, John Whitgift, the Archbishop; and printed about the year in which Mr. Hooker also appeared first to the world, in the publication of his four books of "Ecclesiastical Polity."

This friendship being sought for by this learned Doctor, you may believe was not denied by Mr. Hooker, who was by fortune so like him as to be engaged against Mr. Travers, Mr. Cartwright, and others of their judgment in a controversy too like Dr. Saravia's; so that in this year of 1595, and in this place of Bishop's Borne, these two excellent persons began a holy friendship, increasing daily to so high and mutual affections, that their two wills seemed to be but one and the same; and designs both for the glory of God, and peace of the church; still assisting and improving each other's virtues, and the desired comforts of a peaceable piety; which I have willingly mentioned, becaase it gives a foundation to some things that follow.

This parsonage of Borne is from Canterbury three miles, and near to the common road that leads from that city to Dover; in which parsonage Mr. Hooker had not been twelve months, but his books, and the innocency and sanctity of

his life became so remarkable, that many turned out of the road, and others (scholars especially) went purposely to see the man, whose life and learning were so much admired; and alas! as our Saviour said of St. John Baptist, "What "went they out to see! a man clothed in purple "and fine linen?" No, indeed; but an obscure harmless man; a man in poor clothes, his loins usually girt in a coarse gown, or canonical coat; of a mean stature, and stooping, and yet more lowly in the thoughts of his soul: his body worn out, not with age but study and holy mortifications; his face full of heat-pimples, begot by his inactivity and sedentary life[n]. And to this true character of his person, let me add this of his disposition and behaviour: God and nature blessed him with so blessed a bashfulness, that as in his younger days his pupils might easily look him out of countenance; so that neither then, nor in his age, did he ever willingly look any man in the face; and was of so mild and humble a nature, that his poor parish-clerk and he did never talk but with both their hats

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[n] When Justus Lipsius had acquired great literary reputation, not by his elegant Latinity, for his style is full of affectation, novelty, and conceit, but by his vast and extensive erudition, several foreigners came from distant countries to visit him. They were much disappointed at seeing him a plain man, mean in his behaviour, dress, and conversation. (*Bayle's Dictionary.*)

on, or both off, at the same time[o]; and to this may be added, that though he was not purblind; yet he was short or weak-sighted; and where he fixed his eyes at the beginning of his sermon, there they continued till it was ended; and the reader has a liberty to believe that his modesty and dim-sight were some of the reasons why he trusted Mrs. Churchman to choose a wife for him.

This parish-clerk lived till the third or fourth year of the late Long Parliament; betwixt which time and Mr. Hooker's death, there had come many to see the place of his burial, and the monument dedicated to his memory by Sir William Cooper (who still lives); and the poor clerk had many rewards for showing Mr. Hooker's grave-place, and his said monument, and did always hear Mr. Hooker mentioned with commendations and reverence; to all which he added his own knowledge and observations of his humility and holiness: in all which discourses the poor man was still more confirmed in his opinion of Mr. Hooker's virtues and learning; but it so fell out, that about the said third or fourth year of the Long Parliament[p], the present parson of Borne

[o] The strongest adamant that draws our reverence and love to this excellent man is his humility. He banished from his bosom every appearance of that pride which is invariably inconsistent with the virtuous character.

[p] "Of those *great* and *wise* men who composed this Par-"liament of 1641, and greater and wiser, or more of them at "one

was sequestered (you may guess why), and a Genevian minister put into his good living. This, and other like sequestrations, made the clerk express himself in a wonder, and say, "They "had sequestered so many good men, that he "doubted if his good master, Mr. Hooker, had "lived till now, they would have sequestered "him too."

It was not long before this intruding minister had made a party in and about the said parish, that were desirous to receive the sacrament as in Geneva; to which end the day was appointed for a select company, and forms and stools set about the altar or communion-table for them to sit and eat and drink; but when they went about this work, there was a want of some joint-stools, which the minister sent the clerk to fetch, and then to fetch cushions. When the clerk saw them begin to sit down, he began to wonder; but the minister bade him "cease wondering and lock the church-"door:" To whom he replied, "Pray, take you "the keys and lock me out, I will never come "more into this church; for all men will say

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"one time, England never saw." (*Preface to the first edition of the Confessional, p. xxviii.*)

Thus has the author of "The Confessional" characterised that Parliament, which involved three enslaved kingdoms in confusion and ruin; which, under the vain pretence of reformation, destroyed one of the best of our Kings, and laid waste the church of England; that church, which under God hath been long the ornament and support of the Protestant religion.

"my Master Hooker was a good man and a good "scholar, and I am sure it was not used to be thus "in his days:" And report says, the old man went presently home and died; I do not say died immediately, but within a few days after [q].

But let us leave this grateful clerk in his quiet grave, and return to Mr. Hooker himself, continuing our observations of his Christian behaviour in this place, where he gave a holy valediction to all the pleasures and allurements of earth; possessing his soul in a virtuous quietness, which he maintained by constant study, prayers, and meditations: his use was to preach once every Sunday, and he or his curate to catechise after the second lesson in the evening prayer. His sermons were neither long nor earnest, but uttered with a grave zeal and humble voice; his eyes always fixed on one place [r], to prevent his imagination from wan-

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[q] Our biographer has lamented that it was not in his power to recover the name of Mr. Hooker's worthy schoolmaster. That of his grateful parish-clerk was Sampson Horton. It appears from the parish-register of Bishop's-Borne, that "Sampson "Horton was buried the 9th of May 1648, an aged man, who "had bin clarke to this pish, by his own relation, threescore "yeares."

[r] "He was," says Dr. Gauden, "so confident of the sacred "power and efficacy of the matter he delivered, that he thought "it needed no great setting off: This made him so far from any "life in his looks, gestures, or pronunciations, that he preached "like a *living* but scarce *moving* statue, his eyes steadfastly "fixed on the same place from the beginning to the end of his

 "sermons,

dering; insomuch that he seemed to study as he spake. The design of his sermons (as indeed of all his discourses) was to show reasons for what he spake; and with these reasons such a kind of rhetoric, as did rather convince and persuade, than frighten men into piety: studying not so much for matter (which he never wanted), as for apt illustrations to inform and teach his unlearned hearers by familiar examples, and then make them better by convincing applications; never labouring by hard words, and then by needless distinctions and sub-distinctions to amuse his hearers and get glory to himself, but glory only to God. Which intention, he would often say, "was as discernible "in a preacher, as an artificial from a natural "beauty [1]."

"sermons, his body unmoved, his tone much to an unison, and "very unemphatic; so variously doth God distribute his gifts."
(Life of Hooker, p. 30)

[1] In the printed sermons of Mr. Hooker there are, indeed, many instances of just and animated application. In his discourse on "the Certainty and Perpetuity of Faith in the Elect," there are few who will not admire the following passage: "It was not "the meaning of our Lord and Saviour in saying, *Father, keep* "*them in thy name*, that we should be careless to keep ourselves. "To our own safety our own sedulity is required. And then "blessed for ever and ever be that mother's child whose faith "hath made him the child of God. The earth may shake, the "pillars of the world may tremble under us; the countenance "of heaven may be appalled, the sun may lose his light, the "moon her beauty, the stars their glory: but concerning the "man that trusted in God, if the fire have proclaimed itself un-"able

He never failed the Sunday before every Ember-week to give notice of it to his parishioners, persuading them both to fast, and then to double their devotions for a learned and pious clergy, but especially for the last; saying often, "that the life "of a pious clergyman was visible rhetoric, and so "convincing that the most godless men (though "they would not deny themselves the enjoyment "of their present lusts) did yet secretly wish them-"selves like those of the strictest lives." And to what he persuaded others, he added his own example of fasting and prayer; and did usually,

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"able as much as to singe a hair of his head; if lions, beasts "ravenous by nature and keen with hunger, being set to devour, "have, as it were, religiously adored the very flesh of the faith-"ful man; what is there in the world that shall change his "heart, overthrow his faith, alter his affection towards God or "the affection of God to him? If I be of this note, who shall "make a separation between me and my God? *Shall tribulation, "or anguish, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or "sword? No: I am persuaded, that neither tribulation, nor anguish, "nor persecution, nor famine, nor nakedness, nor peril, nor sword, "nor death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor "things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any "other creature, shall ever prevail so far over me: I know in whom "I have believed;* I am not ignorant whose precious blood hath "been shed for me; I have a shepherd full of kindness, full of "care, and full of power; unto him I commit myself; his own "finger hath engraven this sentence on the tables of my heart. "*Satan hath desired to winnow thee as wheat, but I have prayed "that thy faith fail not:* therefore the assurance of my hope I "will labour to keep as a jewel, unto the end; and by labour, "through the gracious mediation of his prayer, I shall keep it."

every Ember-week, take from the parish-clerk the key of the church-door, into which place he retired every day, and locked himself up for many hours; and did the like most Fridays, and other days of fasting.

He would by no means omit the customary time of procession, persuading all, both rich and poor, if they desired the preservation of love, and their parish-rights and liberties, to accompany him in his perambulation; and most did so: in which perambulation, he would usually express more pleasant discourse than at other times, and would then always drop some loving and facetious observations to be remembered against the next year, especially by the boys and young people; still inclining them, and all his present parishioners, to meekness and mutual kindnesses and love; because "Love thinks not evil, but covers a multitude "of infirmities [1]."

He was diligent to inquire who of his parish

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[1] It was among the injunctions given by Queen Elizabeth in 1559, on the abolition of those ceremonies, which attended the Popish processions, "that the parishioners shall once in the "year, at the time accustomed, with the curate and the substan-"tial men of the parish, *walke about the parishes* as they were "accustomed, and at their returne to the church make their "common prayers." Many reasons concur to evince the necessity of reviving the custom of holding these perambulations frequently and regularly. See in "The Book of Homilies," p. 314 (Oxford edit. 1683), an exhortation to be spoken to such parishes where they use their perambulation in Rogation-week for the oversight of the bounds and limits of their town.

were sick, or any way distressed, and would often visit them unsent for; supposing that the fittest time to discover those errors, to which health and prosperity had blinded them. And having, by pious reasons and prayers, moulded them into holy resolutions for the time to come, he would incline them to confession, and bewailing their sins, with purpose to forsake them, and then to receive the communion, both as a strengthening of those holy resolutions; and as a seal betwixt God and them of his mercies to their souls, in case that present sickness did put a period to their lives.

And as he was thus watchful and charitable to the sick, so he was diligent to prevent law-suits, still urging his parishioners and neighbours to bear with each other's infirmities, and live in love, because (as St. John says) "he that lives in love lives "in God; for God is love." And to maintain this holy fire of love, constantly burning on the altar of a pure heart, his advice was *to watch and pray*, and always keep themselves fit to receive the communion, and then to receive it often: for it was both a confirming and a strengthening of their graces. This was his advice, and at his entrance or departure out of any house, he would usually speak to the whole family, and bless them by name; insomuch, that as he seemed in his youth to be taught of God, so he seemed in this place to teach his precepts, as Enoch did by walking with him in all holiness and humility; making each day a step towards a blessed eternity. And

though in this weak and declining age of the world such examples are become barren, and almost incredible; yet let his memory be blessed with this true recordation, because he that praises Richard Hooker praises God, who hath given such gifts to men; and let this humble and affectionate relation of him become such a pattern as may invite posterity to imitate his virtues [u].

This was his constant behaviour at Borne; thus as Enoch, so he, walked with God; thus did he tread in the footsteps of primitive piety; and yet, as that great example of meekness and purity, even our blessed Jesus, was not free from false accusations, no more was this disciple of his, this most humble, most innocent, holy man. His was a slander parallel to that of chaste Susannah's by the wicked elders; or that against St. Atha-

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[u] We may surely apply to this good man these lines of Mr. Cowley:

" ..... his harmless life
" Does with substantial blessedness abound,
" And the soft wings of Peace cover him round."

The Editor of this Work reads this description with inexpressible satisfaction, as it recalls to his remembrance the character of a much-honoured parent, the Rev. Charles Zouch, M. A. Vicar of Sandal Magna, near Wakefield, Yorkshire; who, in the instances of duty here related, literally trod in the steps of good Mr. Hooker; a bright example of primæval piety, adorning all the acquirements of a scholar and a divine with an unblemished sanctity of life and manners.

" Nil me pœniteat sanum patris hujus." Hor.

nasius[x], as it is recorded in his life (for that holy man had heretical enemies), and which this age calls trepanning[y]. The particulars need not a repetition; and that it was false needs no other testimony than the public punishment of his accusers, and their open confession of his innocency. It was said, that the accusation was contrived by a dissenting brother, one that endured not church-ceremonies, hating him for his book's sake, which he was not able to answer; and his name hath been told me; but I have not so much confidence in the relation, as to make my pen fix a scandal on him to posterity; I shall rather leave it doubtful till the great day of revelation. But this is certain, that he lay under the great charge, and the anxiety of this accusation, and kept it secret

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[x] "Scribit Theodoretus (lib. i. cap. 3.) subornatam ab Arianis "mulierem postulâsse Athanasium illati sibi per vim stupri, "cum illum suscepisset hospitio. Cum igitur mulier in Atha-"nasium suas querelas proponeret, progrediens Timotheus "Presbyter, *Egone*, ait, *mulier, vim tibi et stuprum intuli?* Tum "ipsa credens esse sibi ignotum Athanasium, convitiis sacer-"dotem excipiens, rem præfractiùs asseverat, et judicum fidem "contra Timotheum obtestatur ad sceleris vindictam."

(*Notitia Conciliorum, &c. p.* 123.)

[y] "..... as if one eye
"Upon the other were a spy;
"That to *trepan* the one to think
"The other blind, both strove to blink."

(HUDIBRAS, *Part III. Canto II. ver.* 356.)

"*Trepann'd* the state, and fac'd it down,
"With plots and projects of our own." *Ib. ver.* 832.

"neither my life, nor my reputation are safe "in mine own keeping, but in thine, who "didst take care of me when I yet hanged on "my mother's breast. Blessed are they that put "their trust in thee, O Lord; for when false "witnesses were risen up against me; when "shame was ready to cover my face; when I "was bowed down with an horrible dread, and "went mourning all the day long; when my "nights were restless, and my sleeps broken "with a fear worse than death; when my soul "thirsted for a deliverance, as the hart panteth "for the rivers of water; then thou, Lord, didst "hear my complaints, pity my condition, and "art now become my deliverer; and as long as "I live I will hold up my hands in this manner, "and magnify thy mercies, who didst not give "me over as a prey to mine enemies. O blessed "are they that put their trust in thee; and no "prosperity shall make me forget those days of "sorrows, or to perform those vows that I have

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"trive a way to be present in his chamber, where they might "hear the whole discourse at her next coming. An oppor-"tunity soon offered, and the lewd woman persisting in her "threats of laying ill things to his charge, if she was denied "what she came for, money, his two friends stepped forth "from behind the curtains to her confusion and the shame "of those who had employed her in so vile an action; for his "slanderers were punished for this their vile attempt, who at "their suffering showed a penitent behaviour, and made an "open confession." *(Prince's Worthies, &c. p. 396.)*

"made to thee in the days of my fears and af-
"fliction; for with such sacrifices thou, O God,
"art well pleased; and I will pay them."

Thus did the joy and gratitude of this good man's heart break forth; and it is observable, that as the invitation to this slander was his meek behaviour and dove-like simplicity, for which he was remarkable; so his Christian charity ought to be imitated. For though the spirit of revenge is so pleasing to mankind, that it is never conquered but by a supernatural grace, being indeed so deeply rooted in human nature, that to prevent the excesses of it (for men would not know moderation), Almighty God allows not any degree of it to any man, but says, "Vengeance is mine:" and though this be said by God himself, yet this revenge is so pleasing, that man is hardly persuaded to submit the manage of it to the time, and justice, and wisdom of his Creator, but would hasten to be his own executioner of it. And yet, nevertheless, if any man ever did wholly decline, and leave this pleasing passion to the time and measure of God alone, it was this Richard Hooker, of whom I write: for when his slanderers were to suffer, he laboured to procure their pardon; and when that was denied him, his reply was, "That, however, he would fast "and pray, that God would give them repentance "and patience to undergo their punishment." And his prayers were so far returned into his own bosom, that the first was granted, if we may believe a penitent behaviour, and an open confession.

And it is observable, that after this time he would often say to Dr. Saravia, "O with what quietness "did I enjoy my soul, after I was free from the "fears of my slander! And how much more after "a conflict and victory over my desires of re-"venge[a]."

In the year 1600, and of his age forty-six, he fell into a long and sharp sickness, occasioned by a cold taken in his passage betwixt London and Gravesend, from the malignity of which, he was never recovered; for till his death, he was not free from thoughtful days and restless nights; but a submission to his will that makes the sick man's bed easy, by giving rest to his soul, made his very languishment comfortable; and yet all this time he was solicitous in his study, and said often to Dr. Savaria (who saw him daily, and was the chief comfort of his life), "That he did not beg a "long life of God, for any other reason, but to live "to finish his three remaining books of Polity; "and then, Lord, let thy servant depart in peace;" which was his usual expression. And God heard his prayers, though he denied the benefit of them

[a] "When an unworthy aspersion was cast on Mr. Hooker—"(If Christ was dasht, shall Christians escape in their journey to "heaven?)—Mr. Travers being asked of a private friend what "he thought of the truth of the accusation; '*In truth*,' said he, "'*I take Mr. Hooker to be a holy man*.' A speech which, "coming from an adversary, sounds no less to the commendation "of his charity who spoke it, than to the praise of his piety of "whom it was spoken." *(Fuller.)*

as completed by himself; and it is thought he hastened his own death, by hastening to give life to his books. But this is certain, that the nearer he was to his death, the more he grew in humility, in holy thoughts, and resolutions.

About a month before his death, this good man, that never knew, or at least never considered the pleasures of the palate, became first to lose his appetite, and then to have an averseness to all food, insomuch, that he seemed to live some intermitted weeks by the smell of meat only, and yet still studied and wrote. And now his guardian angel seemed to foretel him, that his years were past away as a shadow, bidding him prepare to follow the generation of his fathers, for the day of his dissolution drew near; for which his vigorous soul appeared to thirst [h].

In this time of his sickness, and not many days before his death, his house was robbed; of which he having notice, his question was, "Are my books "and written papers safe?" and being answered that they were, his reply was, "Then it matters "not, for no other loss can trouble me."

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[h] "The chamber where the good man meets his fate
"Is privileg'd beyond the common walk
"Of virtuous life, quite in the verge of heaven.
"Fly, ye profane! if not, draw near with awe,
"Receive the blessing, and adore the chance
"That threw in this Bethesda your disease;
"If unrestor'd by this, despair your cure."

(YOUNG's *Night Thoughts.*)

About one day before his death, Dr. Saravia, who knew the very secrets of his soul (for they were supposed to be confessors to each other), came to him, and after a conference of the benefit, the necessity, and safety of the church's absolution, it was resolved the Doctor should give him both that and the sacrament the day following. To which end the Doctor came, and after a short retirement and privacy, they returned to the company; and then the Doctor gave him and some of those friends that were with him the blessed sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus. Which being performed, the Doctor thought he saw a reverend gaiety and joy in his face; but it lasted not long; for his bodily infirmities did return suddenly, and became more visible; insomuch, that the Doctor apprehended death ready to seize him: yet, after some amendment, left him at night, with a promise to return early the day following; which he did, and then found him better in appearance, deep in contemplation, and not inclinable to discourse; which gave the Doctor occasion to inquire his present thoughts: to which he replied, "That he was meditating the "number and nature of angels[c], and their blessed

[c] That Mr. Hooker in the full vigour of his understanding did lift up his eyes as it were from the footstool to the throne of God to consider the state of heavenly and divine creatures, see "*Eccles. Polity*," B. I. § iv. "The subject which engaged "Mr. Hooker's dying thoughts ought constantly to engage our "living ones; since in the prayer composed and delivered out

"obedience and order, without which, peace could "not be in heaven; and oh! that it might be so "on earth!" After which words, he said, "I have "lived to see this world is made up of perturba- "tions, and I have been long preparing to leave "it, and gathering comfort for the dreadful hour "of making my account with God, which I now "apprehend to be near: And though I have by "his grace loved him in my youth, and feared him "in mine age, and laboured to have a conscience "void of offence to him, and to all men; yet "if thou, O Lord, be extreme to mark what I "have done amiss, who can abide it? And, there- "fore, where I have failed, Lord, show mercy to "me; for I plead not my righteousness, but the "forgiveness of my unrighteousness, for his merits "who died to purchase a pardon for penitent sinners. "And since I owe thee a death, Lord, let it not "be terrible, and then take thine own time; I "submit to it! Let not mine, O Lord, but let thy "will be done!" With which expression he fell into a dangerous slumber; dangerous as to his recovery; yet recover he did, but it was to speak only these few words: "Good Doctor, God hath "heard my daily petitions; for I am at peace with "all men, and he is at peace with me; and from

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"to his disciples by our Lord and Saviour, the obedience of the "angels is proposed as the pattern to be imitated by us, as the "copy after which we should diligently write, *Thy will be done "on earth as it is in heaven.*"

(Bishop Horne's Sermons, Vol. IV. p. 322.)

"which blessed assurance, I feel that inward joy "which this world can neither give nor take from "me." More he would have spoken, but his spirits failed him; and, after a short conflict betwixt nature and death, a quiet sigh put a period to his last breath, and so he fell asleep[d].

And here I draw his curtain, till with the most glorious company of the Patriarchs and Apostles, the most noble army of Martyrs and Confessors, this most learned, most humble, holy man, shall also awake to receive an eternal tranquillity, and with it a greater degree of glory than common Christians shall be made partakers of. In the mean time, *Bless, O Lord! Lord, bless his brethren, the clergy of this nation, with ardent desires, and effectual endeavours to attain, if not to his great learning, yet to his remarkable meekness, his godly simplicity, and his Christian moderation: for these are praise-worthy; these bring peace at the last! And let the labours of his life, his most excellent writings, be blessed with what he designed when he undertook them: which was glory to thee, O God on high, peace in thy church, and good will to mankind.* Amen, Amen.

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[d] He died Nov. 2, 1600. Thus the day of his death was noted by Archbishop Laud, in the title-page of his copy of "The Ecclesiastical Polity."

APPENDIX

TO THE LIFE OF

MR. RICHARD HOOKER.

And now having by a long and laborious search satisfied myself, and I hope, my reader, by imparting to him the true relation of Mr. Hooker's life; I am desirous to acquaint him with some observations that relate to it, and which could not properly fall to be spoken till after his death, of which my reader may expect a brief and true account in the following Appendix.

And first, it is not to be doubted but that he died in the forty-seventh, if not in the forty-sixth year of his age; which I mention, because many have believed him to be more aged; but I have so examined it, as to be confident, I mistake not; and for the year of his death, Mr. Camden, who in his "Annals of Queen Elizabeth," 1599, mentions him with a high commendation of his life and learning, declares him to die in the year 1599; and yet in that inscription of his monu-

ment [e], set up at the charge of Sir William Cooper in Borne church, where Mr. Hooker was buried, his death is said to be anno 1603, but doubtless both are mistaken; for I have it attested under the hand of William Somner the Archbishop's register for the province of Canterbury, that Richard Hooker's will bears date October the 26th in anno 1600, and that it was proved the

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[e] The following is an accurate copy of the inscription on Mr. Hooker's monument:

SUNT MELIORA MIHI.
RICHARDUS HOOKER EXONIENSIS SCHOLARIS SOCIUSQ; COLLEGII CORP. XTI OXON: DEINDE LONDINIIS TEMPLI INTERIORIS IN SACRIS MAGISTER RECTORQ; HUJUS ECCLÆ. SCRIPSIT VIII LIBROS POLITIÆ ECCLESIASTICÆ ANGLICANÆ, QUORUM TRES DESIDERANTUR. OBIIT AN°. DOM. MDC ÆTATIS SUÆ L. iij
POSUIT HOC PIISSIMO VIRO MONUMENTUM AN°. DOM. MDCXXXIII. GULIELMUS COWPER ARMIGER IN CHRISTO JESU QUEM GENUIT PER EVANGELIUM. 1 *Cor.* iv. 15.

Sir William Cowper, who erected this monument, was the great grandfather of William, the first Earl Cowper, Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain. He was created first a Baronet of Nova Scotia, and afterward a Baronet of England in 1641. He suffered imprisonment, the loss of his son, and other great calamities, for his fidelity to Charles I. He outlived all his troubles, residing at his castle of Hertford, and famed for his hospitality, charity, and other Christian virtues, often visiting his poor neighbours at their houses, and relieving them in private according to their necessities.

third of December following[f]. And this attested also, that at his death he left four daughters, Alice, Cicily, Jane, and Margaret; that he gave to each of them a hundred pounds; that he left Joane his wife his sole executrix; and that by his inventory his estate (a great part of it being in books) came to 1092*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.* which was much more than he thought himself worth; and which was not got by his care, much less by the good housewifery of his wife, but saved by his trusty servant Thomas

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[f] The following is extracted from the registry of the Archdeacon's Court of Canterbury.

In the name of God Amen This sixe and twentieth of October in the yeare of our Lord one thousand and sixe hundred I Richard Hooker of Bishopsborne though sicke in bodye yet sounde in minde thankes be unto allmightye God doe ordaine and make this my last will and testament in manner and forme followinge First I bequeth my soule unto Allmightye God my creator hopinge assuredly of my salvation purchased thorough the death of Christ Jesus and my bodye to the earth to be buried at the discretion of mine executor Item *I give and bequeth unto my daughter Alice Hooker one hundred pounds of lawfull Englishe money to be paide unto her at the daye of her marriage* Item *I give and bequeth unto my daughter Cicilye Hooker one hundred pounds of lawful Englishe moneye to be paid unto her at the daye of her marriage* Item *I give and bequethe unto my daughter Jane Hooker one hundred pounds of lawful Englishe money to be paide unto her at the day of her marriage* Item *I give unto my daughter Margaret Hooker one hundred pounds of lawful Englishe moneye to be paid unto her at the day of her marriage And if it shall happen any of my said daughters to departe this life before the daye of their said marriage then I will that her or their portion so dieinge shal be equally divided amonge her or their sisters survivinge* Item *I give and bequeth unto the poor of the parishe of Barha*

Lane, that was wiser than his master in getting money for him, and more frugal than his mistress in keeping it: of which will I shall say no more, but that his dear friend Thomas, the father of George Cranmer, of whom I have spoken, and shall have occasion to say more, was one of the witnesses to it.

One of his elder daughters was married to one Chalinor, sometime a schoolmaster in Chichester, and both dead long since. Margaret, his youngest

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Barha five pounds of lawful money to be paid unto them by mine execcutor Item *I give unto the poore of the pishe of Bishopesborne fiftye shillings of lawfull Englishe money to be paid unto them by mine executor* Item *I give and bequeth three pounds of lawful Englishe money towards the buildinge and makeing of a newe and sufficient pulpett in the pishe church of Bishopesborne The residue of goods and chattells whatsoever unbequethed my funeral debts and legacies discharged and paid I give unto Joane Hooker my welbeloved wife whom I ordaine and make sole executor of this my last will and testament And I ordaine and make my welbeloved father Mr John Churchman and my assured good frende Mr Edwin Sandes my overseers By me Richard Hooker Sealed and delivered in the presence of these whose names are subscribed Robert Rose Daniel Nichols Avery Cheston.* ||.

Proved the third day of December 1600, *before the Reverend James Bissel Clerk Surrate to Revd. George Newman Doctor of Laws Commissary General of the city and diocese of Canterbury by the oath of Joane Hooker widow the relict and executrix named in the said will, &c*

THO^s. BACKHOUSE, Registrar.

	£.	s.	d.
In^y	1092	9	2

Ex^d WM. CULLEN.

daughter, was married unto Ezekiel Clark, Bachelor in Divinity, and Rector of St. Nicholas in Harbledown near Canterbury, who died about sixteen years past, and had a son Ezekiel, now living and in Sacred Orders, being at this time Rector of Waldron in Sussex; she left also a daughter, with both whom I have spoken not many months past, and find her to be a widow in a condition that wants not, but far from abounding; and these two attested unto me, that Richard Hooker, their grandfather, had a sister, by name Elizabeth Harvey, that lived to the age of one hundred and twenty-one years, and died in the month of September, 1663.

For his other two daughters I can learn little certainty, but have heard they both died before they were marriageable; and for his wife she was so unlike Jephtha's daughter, that she staid not a comely time to bewail her widowhood; nor lived long enough to repent her second marriage; for which doubtless she would have found cause, if there had been but four months betwixt Mr. Hooker's and her death. But she is dead, and let her other infirmities be buried with her.

Thus much briefly f his age, the year of his death, his estate, his d his children: I am next to speak of his b concerning which I shall have a eing longer, or shall neither do right to r my reader, which is chiefly intended

I have declared in his Life, that he proposed eight books, and that his first four were printed anno 1594, and his fifth book first printed, and alone, anno 1597, and that he lived to finish the remaining three of the proposed eight; but whether we have the last three as finished by himself, is a just and material question; concerning which I do declare, that I have been told almost forty years past, by one that very well knew Mr. Hooker, and the affairs of his family, that about a month after the death of Mr. Hooker, Bishop Whitgift, then Archbishop of Canterbury, sent one of his chaplains to inquire of Mrs. Hooker for the three remaining books of Polity, writ by her husband; of which she would not or could not give any account; and I have been told, that about three months after the Bishop procured her to be sent for to London, and then by his procurement she was to be examined by some of her Majesty's Council, concerning the disposal of those books; but by way of preparation for the next day's examination, the Bishop invited her to Lambeth; and, after some friendly questions, she confessed to him, "that one Mr. Chark[s], and "another minister that dwelt near Canterbury,

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[s] The person here meant was probably Mr. William Charke, a noted Puritan, deprived of his Fellowship at Peterhouse in the University of Cambridge, and banished from the University for having asserted in a Latin sermon, preached at St. Mary's, Dec. 3, 1572, "that the states of Bishops, Archbishops, Metro-
"politans

"came to her, and desired that they might go into "her husband's study, and look upon some of his "writings; and that there they two burnt and "tore many of them, assuring her, that they were "writings not fit to be seen, and that she knew "nothing more concerning them." Her lodging was then in King-street, in Westminster, where she was found next morning, dead in her bed, and her new husband suspected and questioned for it; but was declared innocent of her death.

And I declare also, that Dr. John Spencer (mentioned in the Life of Mr. Hooker) who was of Mr. Hooker's College, and of his time there; and betwixt whom there was so friendly a friendship, that they continually advised together in all their studies, and particularly in what concerned these books of Polity: This Dr. Spencer (the three first books being lost) had delivered into his hands (I think by Bishop Whitgift) the imperfect books, or first rough draughts of them, to be made as perfect as they might be, by him, who both knew Mr. Hooker's hand-writing, and was best acquainted with his intentions. A fair testimony of this may appear by an epistle first and usually printed before Mr. Hooker's five books (but omitted, I know not why, in the last impression of the

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"politans (Patriarchs), and lastly of Popes, were introduced "into the church by Satan; and that among the ministers of "the church one ought not to be superior to another."

(Strype's Whitgift, p. 48.)

eight printed together in anno 1662, in which the publishers seem to impose the three doubtful, as the undoubted books of Mr. Hooker) with these two letters J. S. at the end of the said epistle, which was meant for this John Spencer; in which epistle the reader may find these very words, which may give some authority to what I have here written.

"And though Mr. Hooker hastened his own "death by hastening to give life to his books, yet "he held out with his eyes to behold these "Benjamins, these sons of his right hand, though "to him they proved *Benonies*, sons of pain and "sorrow: but some evil-disposed minds, whether "of malice or covetousness, or wicked blind zeal, "it is uncertain, as soon as they were born, and "their father dead, smothered them; and, by con-"veying the perfect copies, left unto us nothing "but the old, imperfect, mangled draughts, dis-"membered into pieces: no favour, no grace, not "the shadow of themselves remaining in them. "Had the father lived to behold them thus "defaced, he might rightly have named them "*Benonies*, the sons of sorrow; but being, the "learned will not suffer them to die and be buried, "it is intended the world shall see them as they "are: the learned will find in them some shadows "and resemblances of their father's face. God "grant, that as they were with their brethren "dedicated to the church for messengers of peace,

"so, in the strength of that little breath of life "that remaineth in them, they may prosper in "their work, and that, by satisfying the doubts of "such as are willing to learn, they may help to "give an end to the calamities of these our civil "wars! J. S."

And next the reader may note, that this epistle of Dr. Spencer's was writ, and first printed within four years after the death of Mr. Hooker, in which time all diligent search had been made for the perfect copies; and then granted not recoverable, and therefore endeavoured to be completed out of Mr. Hooker's rough draughts, as is expressed by the said Dr. Spencer, since whose death it is now fifty years.

And I do profess, by the faith of a Christian, that Dr. Spencer's wife (who was my aunt, and sister to George Cranmer, of whom I have spoken) told me forty years since, in these, or in words to this purpose, "that her husband had made up or "finished Mr. Hooker's last three books; and that "upon her husband's death-bed, or in his last sick-"ness, he gave them into her hand, with a charge "they should not be seen by any man, but be by "her delivered into the hands of the then Arch-"bishop of Canterbury, which was Dr. Abbot, or "unto Dr. King, Bishop of London; and that she "did as he enjoined her."

I do conceive, that from Dr. Spencer's and no other copy, there have been divers transcripts, and

were to be found in several places, as namely, in Sir Thomas Bodlie's library, in that of Dr. Andrew's late Bishop of Winton, in the late Lord Conway's, in the Archbishop of Canterbury's, and in the the Bishop of Armagh's, and in many others; and most of these pretended to be the author's own hand, being much disagreeing; being, indeed, altered and diminished, as men have thought fittest to make Mr. Hooker's judgment suit with their fancies or give authority to their corrupt designs; and, for proof of a part of this, take these following testimonies:

Dr. Barnard, sometime chaplain to Dr. Usher, late Lord Archbishop of Armagh, hath declared in a late book, called "Clavi Trabales [h]," printed by Rich. Hodgkinson, anno 1661, that in his search and examination of the said Bishop's manuscripts, he there found the three written books, which were the supposed sixth, seventh, and

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[h] Or, "Nails fastened by some great Masters of Assemblies," &c. published by Nich. Bernard, D. D. London, 1661. It is a collection made by Archbishop Usher of tracts written by himself, Mr. Richard Hooker, Dr. Lancelot Andrews, Adrian Saravia, &c. with a preface by Bishop Sanderson. This volume contains the Lord Primate's Original of Bishops and Metropolitans; wherein he proves from Scripture, as also from the most ancient writings and monuments of the church, that they owe their original to no less authority than that of the Apostles; so that there never was any Christian church founded in the primitive times without Bishops: which discourse was not then, nor perhaps ever will be, answered by those of a contrary judgment. *(See Dr. Parr's Life of Archbishop Usher, p. 41.)*

eighth, of Mr. Hooker's books of "Ecclesiastical "Polity;" and that, in the said three books (now printed as Mr. Hooker's), there are so many omissions that they amount to many paragraphs; and which cause many incoherencies; the omissions are by him set down at large in the said printed book, to which I refer the reader for the whole; but think fit in this place to insert this following short part of them:

"First, As there could be in natural bodies no "motion of any thing, unless there were some "first which moved all things, and continued un-"moveable; even so in politic societies there "must be some unpunishable, or else no man shall "suffer punishment; for, sith punishments pro-"ceed always from superiors, to whom the ad-"ministration of justice belongeth, which admini-"stration must have necessarily a fountain that "deriveth it to all others, and receiveth not "from any, because otherwise the course of justice "should go infinitely in a circle, every superior "having his superior without end, which cannot "be, therefore, a well-spring; it followeth, there is "a supreme head of justice whereunto all are "subject, but itself in subjection to none. Which "kind of pre-eminency if some ought to have in a "kingdom, who but the King shall have it? "Kings, therefore, or no man, can have lawful "power to judge.

"If private men offend, there is the Magistrate "over them which judgeth; if Magistrates, they

"have their Prince; if Princes, there is Heaven, "a tribunal, before which they shall appear; on "earth they are not accountable to any."—'Here,' says the Doctor, 'it breaks off abruptly.'

And I have these words also attested under the hand of Mr. Fabian Philips[i], a man of note for his useful books:

"I will make oath if I shall be required, that "Dr. Sanderson the late Bishop of Lincoln did, a "little before his death, affirm to me he had seen "a manuscript, affirmed to him to be the hand-

[i] A barrister of some eminence in his profession, and noted for his loyalty. From his diligent search of records and papers deposited in the public offices, he obtained a most extensive knowledge of the history and antiquities of England. When the bill for taking away the tenures was depending in Parliament, he published a work highly valued by professional readers: "Tenenda non Tollenda; or, the Necessity of preserving "Tenures in Capite," &c. London. 1660. 4to.——He was also the author of "Veritas Inconcussa; or, a most certain Truth "asserted, that King Charles I. was no Man of Blood, but a "Martyr for his People." He concludes this tract with the following extraordinary passage: "The Seavern, Thames, Trent, "and Humber, four of the greatest rivers of the kingdom, with "all their lesser running streams of the island in their continual "courses, and those huge heaps of water in the ocean and girdle "of it, in their restless agitations, will never be able to scour "and wash away the guilt and stain of it (the King's death), "though all the rains which the clouds shall ever bring forth "and impart to this nation, and the tears of those that bewail "the loss of a King of so eminent graces and perfection shall be "added to it."

"writing of Mr. Richard Hooker, in which there "was no mention made of the King or supreme "governors being accountable to the people; "this I will make oath that that good man "attested to me.

FABIAN PHILIPS."

So that there appears to be both omissions and additions in the said last three printed books; and this may probably be one reason why Dr. Sanderson, the said learned Bishop (whose writings are so highly and justly valued), gave a strict charge near the time of his death, or in his last will, "that nothing of his, that was not already printed, "should be printed after his death."

It is well known how high a value our learned King James put upon the books writ by Mr. Hooker, as also that our late King Charles (the martyr for the church) valued them the second of all books, testified by his recommending them to the reading of his son Charles[k], that now is our

[k] Dr. Gauden in his dedication of Mr. Hooker's Works to Charles II. thus addresses the King: "I shall need nothing more "to ingratiate this incomparable piece to your Majesty's accep-"tance, and all the English world's, than the high commenda-"tions it hath ever had from your Majesty's royal father; who, "a few days before he was crowned with martyrdom, com-"mended to his dearest children the diligent reading of Mr. "Hooker's 'Ecclesiastical Polity,' even next the Bible; as an "excellent means to settle them in the truth of religion, and in "the peace of the church, as much Christian and as well "reformed as any under heaven: as if God had reserved this "signal

gracious King; and you may suppose that this Charles I. was not a stranger to the pretended three books, because in a discourse with the Lord Say [1], when the said Lord required the King to grant the truth of his argument, because it was the judgment of Mr. Hooker (quoting him in one of the three written books), the King replied, "they were not allowed to be Mr. Hooker's books; "but however he would allow them to be Mr. "Hooker's, and consent to what his Lordship "proposed to prove out of those doubtful books, "if he would but consent to the judgment of "Mr. Hooker, in the other five, that were the un-"doubted books of Mr. Hooker."

"signal honour to be done by the best of kings and greatest of "sufferers for this church, to him who was one of the best writers "and ablest defenders of it."

[1] A close and ambitious man, an enemy to the church of England, and desirous of its dissolution. His violent speech against Bishops is inserted in "Nalson's Collections," &c. Vol. II. page 266; and that against Archbishop Laud, with the Archbishop's Answer in "Laud's History of his Troubles," page 470. Nathaniel Fiennes, his favourite son, was a most violent enemy to Episcopacy and Monarchy, being one of those called *Root and Branch Men*. Though this nobleman was the principal fomenter of the civil war, and entertained the most extravagant ideas of civil liberty, he found himself so unhappy under the new government, that he retired voluntarily to the isle of Lundy, and exerted himself in promoting the restoration of Charles II. He afterward received a reward much superior to his merit—the privy seal; the appointment to which gave great offence to many of the cavaliers.

In this relation concerning these three doubtful books of Mr. Hooker, my purpose was to inquire, then set down what I observed and know, which I have done, not as an engaged person, but indifferently; and now leave my reader to give sentence, for their legitimation, as to himself, but so as to leave others the same liberty of believing, or disbelieving them to be Mr. Hooker's. And it is observable, that as Mr. Hooker advised with Dr. Spencer, in the design and manage of these books, so also, and chiefly with his dear pupil George Cranmer (whose sister was the wife of Dr. Spencer), of which this following Letter may be a testimony; and doth also give authority to some things mentioned both in the Appendix, and in the Life of Mr. Hooker; and is therefore added.

CONCERNING

THE NEW CHURCH DISCIPLINE;

AN EXCELLENT

LETTER,

WRITTEN BY MR. GEORGE CRANMER TO MR. R. H.[m]

FEBRUARY MDXCVIII[n].

WHAT posterity is likely to judge of these matters concerning church discipline, we may the better conjecture, if we call to mind what our own age, within a few years, upon better experience, hath already judged concerning the same. It may be remembered that at first, the greatest part of the learned in the land were either eagerly affected, or favourably inclined that way[o].

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[m] This letter is reprinted from the original edition in 1642.

[n] Anthony Wood tells us that he was informed by Mr. Isaac Walton, that Mr. George Cranmer had written many other things besides this letter, but that they were kept private, to the great prejudice of the public. *(Ath. Ox. Vol. I. col. 306.)*

[o] Namely, the discipline established by Calvin in the church of Geneva.

The books then written for the most part savoured of the disciplinary style; it sounded every where in pulpits, and in the common phrase of men's speech. The contrary part began to fear they had taken a wrong course, many which impugned the discipline, yet so impugned it, not as being the better form of government, but as not so convenient for our state, in regard of dangerous innovations thereby likely to grow. One man alone[r] there was to speak (whom let no suspicion of flattery deprive of his deserved commendation), who, in the diffidence of the one part, and courage of the other, stood in the gap, and gave other respite to prepare themselves to their defence; which by the sudden eagerness and violence of their adversaries had otherwise been prevented.—Wherein God hath made good unto him his own empress, "Vincit qui patitur:" for what contumelious indignities he hath at their hands sustained, the world is witness; and what reward of honour above his adversaries God hath bestowed upon him, themselves (though nothing glad thereof) must needs confess. Now of late years the heat of men towards the discipline is greatly decayed; their judgments begin to sway on the other side; the learned have weighed it, and have found it light; wise men conceive some fear, lest it prove not only not the best kind of government, but the very bane and destruction of all government. The

[r] Archbishop Whitgift.

cause of this change in men's opinions may be drawn from the general nature of error, disguised and clothed with the name of truth; which is mightily and violently to possess men at first; but afterward, the weakness thereof being by time discovered, to lose that reputation which before it had gained. As by the outside of a house the passers by are oftentimes deceived, till they see the conveniency of the rooms within; so, by the very name of discipline and reformation, men were drawn at first to cast a fancy towards it, but now they have not contented themselves only to pass by and behold afar off the fore-front of this reformed house; they have entered in, even at the special request of the master workmen and chief builders thereof: they have perused the rooms, the lights, the conveniences; they find them not answerable to that report which was made of them, nor to that opinion which upon report they had conceived. So as now the discipline, which at first triumphed over all, being unmasked, beginneth to droop and hang down her head.

This cause of change in opinion concerning the discipline is proper to the learned, or to such as by them have been instructed. Another cause there is more open and more apparent to the view of all, namely, the course of practice which the reformers[q]

[q] The Presbyterian party, who seemed at that time to take their only measure of truth from opposition to and distance from the church of Rome, thinking nothing good therein; or, if there was, yet still to be rejected on account of what therein was evil.

have had with us from the beginning. The first degree was only some small difference about cap and surplice, but not such as either bred division in the church, or tended to the ruin of the government then established. This was peaceable; the next degree more stirring. Admonitions were directed to the Parliament in peremptory sort against our whole form of regiment. In defence of them volumes were published in English, in Latin: Yet this was no more than writing. Devices were set on foot to erect the practice of the discipline without authority; yet herein some regard of modesty, some moderation was used. Behold at length it brake forth into open outrage, first in writing by Martin [r]: in whose kind of dealing these things may be observed: 1. That whereas T. C. [s] and

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[r] Mr. Hooker, when he is speaking "of the scurrilous and "more than satirical immodesty of Martinism," tells his reader that "the first published schedules thereof being brought to "the hands of a very grave and very honourable Knight, with "signification given, that the book would refresh his spirits, he "took it, saw what the title was, read over an unadvisable sen-"tence or two, and delivered back the libel with this speech, 'I "am sorie you are of the mind to bee solaced with these sports, "and sorrier you have herein thought mine affection to be like "your own.'"

(*Hooker's Epis*[illegible])

[s] Thomas Cartwright, [illegible] "Admonition to the Parli[illegible] approbation and assistance [illegible] swer[illegible] confuted paragr[illegible] in [illegible]

others his great masters, had always before set out the discipline as a queen, and as the daughter of God, he contrariwise, to make her more acceptable to the people, brought her forth as a Vice upon the stage[1]. 2. Which conceit of his was grounded (as may be supposed) upon this rare policy, that seeing the discipline was by writing refuted, in Parliament rejected, in secret corners hunted out and descried, it was imagined that by open railing (which to the vulgar is commonly most plausible) the state ecclesiastical might have been drawn into such contempt and hatred, as the overthrow thereof should have been most grateful to all men, and in a manner desired of the common people. 3. It may be noted (and this I know myself to be true) how some of them, although they could not for shame approve so lewd an action, yet were content to lay hold on it to the advancement of their cause, acknowledging therein the secret judgments of God against the Bishops, and hoping that some good might be wrought thereby for his church, as indeed there was, though not according to their construction. For, 4thly, contrary to their expectation, that railing spirit did not only not further, but extremely disgrace and prejudice their cause, when it was once perceived from how low degrees of contradiction at first, to what outrage of contumely and

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[1] Vice was the fool of th[illegible] moralities, with his dagger of lath, a long coat, and a cap [illegible] a pair of ass's ears.
[illegible]'s Twelfth Night, Act IV. Sc. iv.)

slander they were at length proceeded, and were also likely further to proceed.

A further degree of outrage was in fact: Certain prophets [u] did arise, who deeming it not possible that God should suffer that undone which they did so fiercely desire to have done, namely that his holy saints, the favourers and fathers of the discipline should be enlarged, and delivered from persecution; and, seeing no means of deliverance ordinary, were fain to persuade themselves that God must needs raise some extraordinary means: and being persuaded of none so well as of themselves, they forthwith must needs be the instruments of this great work. Hereupon they framed unto themselves an assured hope, that upon their preaching out of a pease-cart all the multitude would have presently joined unto them, and in amazement of mind have asked them, "Viri "fratres, quid agimus?" whereunto it is likely they would have returned an answer far unlike to that of St. Peter; "Such and such are men "unworthy to govern, pluck them down: such "and such are the dear children of God, let them "be advanced." Of two of these men it is meet to speak with all commiseration, yet so that others by their example may receive instruction, and withal some light may appear what stirring affections the discipline is likely to inspire, if it light

[u] William Hacket, Edmund Coppinger, and Henry Arthington.

upon apt and prepared minds. Now if any man doubt of what society they were, or if the reformers disclaim them, pretending that by them they were condemned, let these points be considered. 1. *Whose associates were they before their entering into this frantic passion? Whose sermons did they frequent? Whom did they admire?* 2. Even when they were entering into it, *Whose advice did they require?* and, when they were in, *Whose approbation? Whom advertised they of their purpose? Whose assistance by prayers did they request?* But we deal injuriously with them to lay this to their charge; for they reproved and condemned it. How? did they disclose it to the Magistrate, that it might be suppressed? or were they rather content to stand aloof and see the end of it, and loath to quench the spirit? No doubt these mad practitioners were of their society, with whom before, and in the practice of their madness, they had most affinity. Hereof read Dr. Bancroft's book [x].

A third inducement may be to dislike of the discipline, if we consider not only how far the reformers themselves have proceeded, but what

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[x] Entitled "A Survey of the pretended holy Discipline; to "which is prefixed a Sermon, preached against the Puritans, at "St. Paul's Cross, Feb. 9, 1588-9, from the following Text: "*Dearly beloved, believe not every Spirit, but try the Spirits "whether they be of God, for many false Prophets have gone out "into the world.* 1 *John, iv.* 1."

others upon their foundations have built. Here come the Brownists in the first rank, their lineal descendants, who have seized upon a number of strange opinions; whereof although their ancestors, the reformers, were never actually possessed, yet by right and interest from them derived, the Brownists[r] and Barrowists have taken possession

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[r] ROBERT BROWN, a person of a good family in Rutlandshire, educated at Corpus Christi College in Cambridge, was the founder of a sect of Puritans, who took their name from him. He inveighed with the most bitter acrimony against the Church of England, condemning her government as Antichristian, her sacraments as superstitious, and her whole liturgy as a compound of Paganism and Popery. His own system of religious institution was explained by him in a book entitled "A Treatise of "Reformation." He wrote several tracts in support of his opinions, and sustained various persecutions, having been committed at different times to thirty-two prisons, in some of which he could not see his hand at broad day. Before his removal with his followers to Middleburg in Zealand, he became disgusted with their divisions and disputes; and though, according to Strype, he had gone a farther distance than any of the Puritans did, he renounced his principles of separation, being promoted by his relation, Lord Burghley, to a benefice, that of Achurch in Northamptonshire.——He is represented to have been unamiable in private life: And it is to be lamented that he always possessed a turbulent and unquiet disposition. He died in a prison in 1630, in the 80th year of his age, having been sent thither by a justice of the peace for assaulting a constable, who was executing a warrant against him.

(Strype's Life of Whitgift, B. IV. C. I. and Appendix, No. 45. Of the Brownists, see Fuller's Church History, B. IX. p. 168, and Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. Vol. IV. p. 98.)

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of them [z]. For if the positions of the reformers be true, I cannot see how the main and general conclusions of Brownism should be false. For upon these two points, as I conceive, they stand:

1. That because we have no church, they are to sever themselves from us.

2. That without civil authority they are to erect a church of their own.

And if the former of these be true, the latter I suppose will follow. For if above all things, men be to regard their salvation; and if out of the church there be no salvation, it followeth, that if we have no church, we have no means of salvation; and therefore separation from us in that respect is both lawful and necessary. As also, that men, so separated from the false and counterfeit church, are to associate themselves unto some church; not

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It appears from a passage in Shakespear that the Brownists were treated as objects of satire: "Policy I hate; I had as lief "be a *Brownist* as a politician." *(Twelfth Night, A. III. Sc. II.)* ——"Why now thou art a good knave, worth a hundred Brownists." *(The Puritan, A. III. Sc. VI.)*

[z] So denominated from HENRY BARROW, a layman, and noted sectary, who suffered death for publishing seditious books against the Queen and the State. He derived his doctrine principally from Cartwright; maintaining, among other things, that the Church of England was not a true church; that her ministers had no lawful calling; and that the use of forms of prayer was blasphemous. *(Of this man and his opinions, see Sir G. Paule's Life of Whitgift, p. 58.—Kennet's History of England, Vol. II. p. 571.)*

to ours; to the Popish much less; therefore to one of their own making. Now the ground of all these inferences being this, that in our church there is no means of salvation, is out of the reformer's principles most clearly to be proved. For wheresoever any matter of faith unto salvation necessary is denied, there can be no means of salvation; but in the Church of England, the discipline, by them accounted a matter of faith, and necessary to salvation, is not only denied, but impugned, and the professors thereof oppressed. Ergo.

Again (but this reason perhaps is weak), every true church of Christ acknowledgeth the whole gospel of Christ; the discipline, in their opinion, is a part of the gospel, and yet by our church resisted. Ergo.

Again, the discipline is essentially united to the church: by which term *essentially*, they must mean either an essential part, or an essential property. Both which ways it must needs be, that where that essential discipline is not, neither is there any church. If, therefore, between them and the Brownists there should be appointed a solemn disputation, whereof with us they have been oftentimes so earnest challengers; it doth not yet appear what other answer they could possibly frame to these and the like arguments, wherewith they might be pressed, but fairly to deny the conclusion (for all the premises are their own), or rather ingeniously to reverse their own

principles before laid, whereon so foul absurdities have been so firmly built.

What further proofs you can bring out of their high words, magnifying the discipline, I leave to your better remembrance: but above all points, I am desirous this one should be strongly inforced against them, because it wringeth them most of all, and is of all others (for ought I see) the most unanswerable. You may, notwithstanding, say, that you would be heartily glad these their positions might so be salved, as the Brownists might not appear to have issued out of their loins; but until that be done, they must give us leave to think that they have cast the seed whereout these tares are grown.

Another sort of men there is, which have been content to run on with the reformers for a time, and to make them poor instruments of their own designs. These are a sort of godless politics, who, perceiving the plot of discipline to consist of these two parts, the overthrow of Episcopal, and erection of Presbyterial authority, and that this latter can take no place till the former be removed, are content to join with them in the destructive part of discipline, bearing them in hand, that in the other also they shall find them as ready. But when time shall come, it may be they would be as loath to be yoked with that kind of regiment, as now they are willing to be released from this. These men's ends in all their actions is τὸ ἴδιον, their

pretence and colour reformation[a]. Those things, which under this colour they have effected to their own good, are 1. By maintaining a contrary faction, they have kept the clergy always in awe, and thereby made them more pliable and willing to buy their peace. 2. By maintaining an opinion of equality among ministers, they have made way to their own purposes for devouring cathedral churches and Bishop's livings. 3. By exclaiming against abuses in the church, they have carried their own corrupt dealings in the civil state more covertly. For such is the nature of the multitude, they are not able to apprehend many things at once, so as being possessed with dislike or liking of any one thing, many other in the mean time may escape them without being perceived. 4. They have sought to disgrace the clergy in entertaining a conceit in men's minds, and confirming it by continual practice, that men of learning, and especially of the clergy, which are employed in the chiefest kind of learning, are not to be admitted, or sparingly admitted, to matters of state; contrary to the practice of all well-governed commonwealths, and of our own till these late years.

A third sort of men there is, though not descended from the reformers, yet in part raised and

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[a] In the later editions the sentence is, "These mind's ends "in all their actions is distraction; their pretence and colour "reformation."

greatly strengthened by them namely, the rude crew of Atheists. This also is one of those points which I am desirous you should handle more effectually, and strain yourself therein to all points of motion and affection: as in that of the Brownists to all strength and sinews of reason. This is a sin most damnable, and yet by the general negligence of the world at this day most common. The causes of it, which are in the parties themselves, although you handle in the beginning of the first book, yet here again they may be touched: but the occasions of help and furtherance which by the reformers have been planted, [illegible] are, I conceive, two: *sensible preaching, and the gracing of the ministry*: the [illegible] dare to impugn that which [illegible] by force of reason nor by authority of [illegible] But in the parties themselves [illegible] I conceive of Atheism. 1. More [illegible] than judgment, and of [illegible] ing; whereby they are more [illegible] any thing, than willing to be [illegible] truth.—They are not therefore [illegible] ing for the most part, but [illegible], [illegible] their kind of dispute so much by force of [illegible], as by scoffing. Whi[illegible] turning matters [illegible] now become so com[illegible] what the prophet [illegible] nor what the apostle [illegible] come; o[illegible]

us. Which also may be an argument against these scoffers and Atheists themselves, seeing it hath been so many ages ago foretold, that such men the latter days of the world should afford; which could not be done by any other spirit save that whereunto things future and present are alike. And even for the main question of the resurrection, whereat they stick so mightily, was it not plainly foretold, that men should in the latter times say, "Where is the promise of his coming?" Against the creation, the ark, and divers other points, exceptions are said to be taken; the ground whereof is superfluity of wit, without ground of learning and judgment. A second cause of Atheism is sensuality, which maketh men desirous to remove all stops and impediments of their wicked life: among which because religion is the chiefest, so as neither in this life without shame they can persist therein, nor (if that be true) without torment in the life to come; they whet their wits to annihilate the joys of heaven, wherein they see (if any such be) they can have no part, and likewise the pains of hell, wherein their portion must needs be very great. They labour, therefore, not that they may not deserve those pains, but that, deserving them, there may be no such pains to seize upon them. But what conceit can be imagined more base than that man should strive to persuade himself even against the secret instinct (no doubt) of his own mind, that his soul is as the soul of a beast, mortal, and corruptible with the

body. Against which barbarous opinion their own Atheism is a very strong argument: For were not the soul a nature separable from the body, how could it enter into discourse of things merely spiritual, and nothing at all pertaining to the body? Surely the soul were not able to conceive any thing of heaven, not so much as to dispute against heaven, and against God, if there were not in it somewhat heavenly, and derived from God.

The last which have received strength and encouragement from the reformers are Papists; against whom, although they are most bitter enemies, yet unwittingly they have given them great advantage. For what can any enemy rather desire than the breach and dissension of those which are confederates against him? wherein they are to remember, that if our communion with Papists in some few ceremonies do so much strengthen them, as is pretended, how much more doth this division and rent among ourselves, especially seeing it is maintained to be, not in light matters only, but even in matters of faith and salvation. Which over-reaching speech of their's, because it is so open to advantage both for the Barrowist and the Papist, we are to wish and hope for, that they will acknowledge it to have been spoken rather in heat of affection, than with soundness of judgment; and that through their exceeding love to that creature of discipline which themselves have bred, nourished and main-

tained, their mouth in commendation of her did somewhat overflow.

From hence you may proceed (but the means of connexion I leave to yourself) to another discourse, which I think very meet to be handled either here or elsewhere at large; the parts whereof may be these:

1. That in this cause between them and us, men are to sever the proper and essential points and controversy, from those which are accidental. The most essential and proper are these two; *overthrow of Episcopal; erection of Presbyterial authority.* But in these two points whosoever joineth with them is accounted of their number; whosoever in all other points agreeth with them, yet thinketh the authority of Bishops not unlawful, and of Elders not necessary, may justly be severed from their retinue. Those things, therefore, which either in the persons, or in the laws and orders themselves, are faulty, may be complained on, acknowledged, and amended; yet they no whit the nearer their main purpose. For what if all errors by them supposed in our liturgy were amended, even according to their own hearts desire; if non-residence, pluralities, and the like, were utterly taken away; are their lay-elders, therefore, presently authorised? their sovereign ecclesiastical jurisdiction established?

But even in their complaining against the outward and accidental matters in church-government,

they are many ways faulty. 1. In their end which they propose to themselves. For in declaiming against abuses, their meaning is not to have them redressed, but, by disgracing the present state, to make way for their own discipline. As, therefore, in Venice, if any senator should discourse against the power of their senate, as being either too sovereign, or too weak in government, with purpose to draw their authority to a moderation, it might well be suffered; but not so, if it should appear he spake with purpose to induce another state by depraving the present: so, in all causes belonging either to church or commonwealth, we are to have regard what mind the complaining part doth bear, whether of amendment or of innovation; and accordingly either to suffer or suppress it. Their objection therefore is frivolous, *Why, may not men speak against abuses?* Yes, but with desire to cure the part affected, not to destroy the whole. 2. A second fault is in their manner of complaining, not only because it is for the most part in bitter and reproachful terms, but also because it is unto the common people, judges incompetent and insufficient, both to determine any thing amiss, and for want of skill and authority to amend it. Which also discovereth their intent and purpose to be rather destructive than corrective. 3dly, Those very exceptions which they take are frivolous and impertinent: Some things, indeed, they accuse as impious; which if they may

appear to be such, God forbid they should be maintained.

Against the rest it is only alleged, that they are idle ceremonies without use, and that better and more profitable might be devised. Wherein they are doubly deceived: for neither is it a sufficient plea to say, *This must give place, because a better may be devised:* and in our judgments of better and worse, we oftentimes conceive amiss, when we compare those things which are in devise with those which are in practice; for the imperfections of the one are hid, till by time and trial they be discovered: the others are already manifest and open to all. But last of all (which is a point in my opinion of great regard, and which I am desirous to have enlarged), they do not see, that for the most part when they strike at the state ecclesiastical, they secretly wound the civil state. For personal faults, what can be said against the church, which may not also agree to the commonwealth? In both statesmen have always been, and will be always men, sometimes blinded with error, most commonly perverted by passions: many unworthy have been and are advanced in both, many worthy not regarded. As for abuses which they pretend to be in the laws themselves; when they inveigh against nonresidence, do they take it a matter lawful or expedient in the civil state, for a man to have a great and gainful office in the north, himself con-

tinually remaining in the south? *He that hath an office, let him attend his office.* When they condemn plurality of livings spiritual to the pit of hell, what think they of the infinite of temporal promotions? By the great philosopher, it is forbidden as a thing most dangerous to commonwealths, that by the same man many great offices should be exercised. When they deride our ceremonies as vain and frivolous, were it hard to apply their exceptions even to those civil ceremonies, which at the coronation, in Parliament, and all courts of justice are used? Were it hard to argue even against circumcision, the ordinance of God, as being a cruel ceremony? against the passover, as being ridiculous—shod, girt, a staff in their hand, to eat a lamb[b]?

To conclude, you may exhort the clergy (or what if you direct your conclusion, not to the clergy in general, but only to the learned in, or of both Universities), you may exhort them to a due consideration of all things, and to a right esteem and valuing of each thing in that degree wherein it ought to stand: for it oftentimes falleth out, what men have either devised themselves, or greatly delighted in, the price and excellency thereof they do admire above desert. The chiefest

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[b] A strange reading is found in all the subsequent editions: "Against the passover as being ridiculous; should be girt, a "staff in their hand, to eat a lamb."

labour of a Christian should be to know, of a minister to preach Christ crucified: in regard whereof not only worldly things, but even things otherwise precious, even the discipline itself is vile and base. Whereas now, by the heat of contention, and violence of affection, the zeal of men towards the one hath greatly decayed their love to the other. Hereunto, therefore, they are to be exhorted, to preach Christ crucified, the mortification of the flesh, the renewing of the spirit; not those things which in time of strife seem precious, but, passions being allayed, are vain and childish.

THIS EPITAPH was long since presented to the world in memory of Mr. HOOKER, by SIR WILLIAM COWPER; who also built him a fair Monument in Borne Church, and acknowledges him to have been his spiritual father.

THOUGH nothing can be spoke worthy his fame,
Or the remembrance of that precious name,
Judicious HOOKER; though this cost be spent
On him that hath a lasting monument
In his own books; yet ought we to express,
If not his worth, yet our respectfulness.
Church-ceremonies he maintained: then why,
Without all ceremony, should he die?
Was it because his life and death should be
Both equal patterns of humility?
Or that perhaps this only glorious one
Was above all, to ask, why had he none?
Yet he that lay so long obscurely low
Doth now preferred to greater honours go.
Ambitious men, learn hence to be more wise:
Humility is the true way to rise:
And God in me this lesson did inspire,
To bid this humble man—"Friend, sit up higher."

W. C.

APPENDIX.

THE WORKS OF MR. RICHARD HOOKER.

THE Works of Mr. Hooker, exclusive of the Books of Ecclesiastical Polity, the different editions of which are enumerated in a subsequent page, are,

I. "ANSWER to the SUPPLICATION that Mr. TRAVERS made to the COUNCIL. *Oxon.* 1612." 4to.

II. "A learned DISCOURSE of JUSTIFICATION, WORKS, and how the FOUNDATION of FAITH is overthrown: on *Habak.* i. 4. *Oxon.* 1612." 4to.

III. "A learned SERMON of the NATURE of PRIDE: on *Habak.* ii. 4. *Oxon.* 1612." 4to.

IV. "A REMEDY against SORROW and FEAR, delivered in a FUNERAL SERMON: on *John* xiv. 27. *Oxon.* 1612." 4to.

V. "A learned and comfortable SERMON of the CERTAINTY and PERPETUITY of FAITH in the ELECT: especially of the PROPHET HABAKKUK's FAITH: on *Habak.* i. 4. *Oxon.* 1612." 4to.

VI. "TWO SERMONS upon part of St. JUDE's EPISTLES. *Epist. Jude*, ver. 17, 18, 19, 20, 21. *Oxon.* 1613." 4to.

These Sermons were originally published by Mr. Henry Jackson, with "Wickliff's Wicket," and afterward reprinted without that tract. What reception they met with from the public we learn from one of his letters preserved in Fulman's papers in the library of Corpus Christi Collge, Oxford. "Edidi ante paucos dies tractatus quosdam D. Richardi Hookeri, qui omnium Applausu, excipio Puritanos ut vocant, ita excepti sunt, ut necesse jam sit typographo nostro novam Editionem parare, quæ primâ illâ emendatior meâ curâ, deo volente, prostitura est. Cùm itaque prodierit, expecta bina exemplaria unà cùm Wiclefi Tractatu, quem edidi eodem Tempore."

VIII. In 1641, a volume was published under the following title: "A SUMMARIE VIEW of the GOVERNMENT both of the OLD and NEW TESTAMENT; whereby the EPISCOPAL GOVERNMENT of CHRIST'S CHURCH is vindicated," out of the rude draughts of Launcelot Andrews, late Bishop of Winchester.

To this volume is prefixed, as a preamble to the whole, "A DISCOVERY of the CAUSES of these CONTENTIONS touching CHURCH GOVERNMENT, out of the FRAGMENTS of RICHARD HOOKER."

This volume contains certain brief treatises, written by divers learned men, concerning the ancient and modern Government of the Church. The treatises are seven in number, of which this posthumous work of Mr. Hooker is one, and as it stands before the rest it is therefore called a Preamble to the whole.

IX. THREE TREATISES inserted in the "CLAVI TRABALES." viz. 1. "On the KING's POWER in Matters of RELIGION." 2. "Of his POWER in the ADVANCEMENT of BISHOPS to their ROOMS of PRELACY." 3. "The KING's EXEMPTION from CENSURE, and other JUDICIAL POWER."

It will not be improper to notice a publication of great merit, entitled "A FAITHFUL ABRIDGMENT of the WORKS of that learned and judicious Divine, Mr. RICHARD HOOKER, in eight books of ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY, and of all the other Treatises which were written by the same Author. With an Account of his Life. By a Divine of the Church of England. *London*, 1705."

In "Fulman's Manuscript History of Corpus Christi College, Oxford," the time and birth of Mr. Hooker, with some other particulars relative to him, are ascertained.

"Richardus Hooker apud Heavy-tree juxta Civi-
"tatem Exoniam natus est circa finem Martii Mensis,
"Anno 1554 ineunte."

"He was admitted Scholar of C. C. C. Dec. 24, 1573,
"being twenty years old the Easter following; and
"admitted Probationer, Sept. 16, 1577, being 23 years
"old the Easter preceding."

OF THE

AUTHENTICITY OF THE THREE LAST BOOKS

OF

ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY.

THE writings of the learned and judicious Mr. Richard Hooker have so deservedly obtained the character of superior excellency, that it becomes a matter of no little consequence to distinguish his genuine works from any suppositious productions that have appeared in his name. Of the authenticity of the three last Books of Ecclesiastical Polity, much doubt has been entertained. As I am not inclined to hope that it is in my power to throw new light upon the subject, I shall merely suggest some few observations that obviously occur on a plain representation of the case.

The four first books of this celebrated work were first printed in 1594, and the fifth in 1597. While they were admired and applauded by wise and good men both at home and abroad, they gave great offence to that numerous band of puritannical writers, whose unremitting zeal, in opposing our ecclesiastical establishment, uniformly displayed itself on [illegible] occasions. In fact this performance

of Mr. Hooker soon engaged the attention of those writers. They treated him with much asperity in a tract entitled "A Christian Letter of certain English Pro-"testants, unfained Favourers of the present State of "Religion, authorised and professed in England, unto "that reverend and learned man Mr. R. HOO. requiring "resolution in certaine matters of doctrine (which seeme "to overthrow the foundation of Christian Religion, "and of the Church among us) expresslie contained in "his five books of Ecclesiasticall Policie. 1599." This tract is said to have given that wound to Mr. Hooker, "that it was not the least cause to procure his death." But, "it was far otherwise," according to Dr. Covel[c], who, with equal modesty and learning, has discussed all the positions advanced in *the Christian Letter;* "for he "contemned it in his wisdom; and yet in his humilitie "would have answered it, if he had lived."

It cannot be denied that Mr. Hooker completed eight books[d]. The accomplishment of this work was the wish nearest to his heart. He had formed in his vastly comprehensive mind a noble and magnificent plan. Having

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c See "A Just and Temperate Defence of the Five Books of Ecclesiastical Policie, written by Mr. Richard Hooker, against an uncharitable Letter of certain English Protestants (as they tearme themselves), craving Resolution, &c. Written by William Covel, Doctor in Divinitie. *London*, 1603."

d Of this circumstance Dr. Gauden seems not to be apprised. He tells us that they were esteemed abortives, with such lineaments of their father's virtue and vigour in them, that they may be easily and justly owned for genuine, although perhaps they had not the last politure of their parent's head: Their strength shows them to be a legitimate progeny, however they may seem to want something of that beauty and lustre which always attended Mr. Hooker's consummation.

(Dr. Gauden's Life, &c. of Mr. Richard Hooker, p. 14.)

lived to see that plan perfected, he died with complacency and contentment.

Many circumstances contributed to excite a suspicion, that an attempt would be made to suppress or destroy his manuscripts. This appears from a Letter written by Dr. Launcelot Andrews, who was then Master of Pembroke Hall in Cambridge, to Dr. Parry[e].

" SALUTEM IN CHRISTO,

" I cannot choose but write though you do not: I " never failed since I last saw you, but dayly prayed for " him till this very instant you sent this heavie news. I " have hitherto prayed, *serva nobis hunc:* now must I, " *da nobis alium.* Alas for our greate loss! And when " I say ours, though I meane yours and myne, yet much " more the common: with the losse since they have of " so greate a damage, the more sad wee neede to bewayle " them and ourselves, who knowe his workes and his " worth to be such, as behind him he hath not (that I " knowe) left anie neere him. And whether I shall live " to knowe anie neere him, I am in greate doubt, that I " care not how manie and myself had redeemed his " longer life to have done good in a better subject than " he had in hand, though that were very good. Good " brother, have a care to deal with his executrix or

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e From a MS. in the Bodleian Library, and inserted in the Oxford edition of Mr. Hooker's works. Dr. Henry Parry, to whom this letter seems to have been addressed, was educated in Corpus Christi College, Oxford. In 1607, he was appointed Bishop of Gloucester, and in 1610, Bishop of Worcester. He was reputed by all of his time, an able divine, and well read in the Fathers, a thorough-paced disputant, and so eloquent a preacher, that King James I. " who " did ken a man of merit as well as any prince in Christendom," always professed he seldom heard a better. See " Wood's Ath. Ox." Vol. I. col. 416.

"executor, or (him that is like to have a greate stroke "in it) his father in lawe, that there be special care "and regard for preserving such papers as he left, "besides the three last books expected. By preserving "I meane, that not only they be not embezelled, and "come to nothing, but that they come not into greate "hands, whoe will only have use of them *quatenus et* "*quousque*, and suppresse the rest, or unhappily all: "but rather into the hands of some of them that un-"feignedly wished him well, though of the meaner "sort; who may upon good assurance (very good as-"surance) be trusted with them; for it is pitie they "should admit anie limitation. Do this, and do it "mature: it had bin more than time long since to have "bin about it, if I had sooner knowne it. If my word "or letter would doe anie good to Mr. Churchman, "it should not want. But what cannot yourself or "Mr. Sandys doe therein? For Mr. Cranmer is away; "happie in that he shall gaine a weeke or two before "he knowe of it. Almightie God comfort us over him! "whose taking away I trust I shall no longer live, then "with grief I remember; therefore with grief, because "with inward and most just honour I ever honoured "him since I knew him.

"Your assured poore loving Friend,

"At the Court, 7 Novr. 1600. "L. ANDREWES."

We learn from the Latin epitaph inscribed on the monument which was erected in 1631, to the memory of Mr. Hooker, above thirty years after his death, that the suspicion was not groundless, and that three books were actually wanting. "Scripsit octo Libros Politiæ "Ecclesiasticæ Anglicanæ, *quorum tres desiderantur*."

Within four years after the death of this venerable man, the most strict and diligent inquiry was made after them without success. Anthony Wood announces

the publication of all the eight books, with certain tractates and sermons, so early as in 1617. The title page of the edition of that year, on which he establishes his opinion, utters a glaring falsehood; the volume containing only five books, as well in this edition of 1617, as in the subsequent ones of 1621 and 1631. The compilers of "The General Dictionary," and of "The Biographia Britannica," relying on the authority of Wood, have fallen into the same error.—Without condescending to examine the contents of the volume, they very injuriously charge Dr. Gauden with ignorance or confidence, when he insinuates that the Seventh Book was first published in 1662.

The Sixth and Eighth Books were printed at London in 1648, 4to, under the title of "The Lawes of Ecclesiastical Politie, the Sixth and Eighth Books: By Richard Hooker. A work long expected, and now published according to the most authentique copies." In this edition it is asserted that they were compared with five copies extant, in different libraries; in the Bodleian Library, in that at Lambeth, and in those of Bishop Andrews, Archbishop Usher, and Lord Edward Conway. With regard to the degree of credit due to these copies, a profound silence is observed.

Fourteen years after, namely in 1662, the Seventh Book (touching Episcopacy, or the Primitive, Catholick, and Apostolick Government of the Church) said to be completed out of his own manuscripts, was published by Dr. Gauden, then Bishop of Exeter, along with Mr. Hooker's other works[f].

It seems reasonable to expect that the fullest and

[f] Dr. Gauden published "Hooker's Works," in 1662, fol. A second edition, with "The Life of Mr. Hooker, by Isaac Walton," appeared in 1666, fol. A third in 1676, fol. A fourth in 1682, fol. A fifth in 1723, fol. And a sixth in 1793, printed at Oxford in three volumes, 8vo.

most convincing proofs should have been adduced to substantiate these books as authentic. A cautious editor, when he presents to the public light a choice and precious manuscript, that had long been buried in obscurity, will not content himself with mere assertions: He will endeavour to inform his readers when and where it was discovered: He will endeavour to establish its authority with all possible precision, so as to banish every doubt concerning its genuineness. On the present occasion nothing of this kind has been attempted. When asseverations are urged without any attendant arguments to confirm their validity, the mind is left to fluctuate in uncertainty and perplexedness. It is declared by Dr. Gauden, that "these three last "books were never finished[s]." The truth of this declaration is expressly contradicted, both by the above cited epitaph, and by Isaac Walton's narrative.

It is added, that "they had been *for many ages* suppressed." Was it not, therefore, highly requisite to advance some evidence of their originality after this long suppression; to ascertain the place where they had eluded all inquiry; to instruct us by what means they were brought from their dark abode? A treasure so inestimable, a deposit so dear to every good man, would surely have been preserved with the utmost fidelity and caution; and when ushered into the world, would have been accompanied with all the attestations necessary to enhance its worth.

He proceeds: "They are now come to light after our "late long troubles, as some buried statues or hidden "monuments are oft discovered by earthquakes." Are we to attribute the discovery of them, after a concealment for so extensive a period of time, to the distracted state of this country, amidst the horrors and confusion of

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s See "Dr. Gauden's Life, &c. of Mr. Richard Hooker."

a civil war? Yet what prevented their more early appearance? In the mild and peaceable reign of James I. when disquisitions on the discipline and doctrine of the Church of England were the subjects of general attention, the publication of them would have been peculiarly acceptable And if their genuineness admitted no doubt, what causes can possibly be assigned for secreting them? If they remained in the possession of Mr. Hooker's friends, those friends would eagerly and without delay have consigned them to the press. If his enemies concealed them, it is scarce probable that from their hands they would emerge pure and uncontaminated [h].

He adds further: "Each of them is by learned critics "judged to be genuine or authentic." Who those learned critics are, or upon what grounds they founded their criticism, we are left to conjecture. King Charles I. by whom the very name of Mr. Hooker was held in the highest veneration, thought otherwise. In his interview with Lord Say, he expressly maintained that the Sixth and Eighth Books were not allowed to have been written by Mr. Hooker. And this opinion was probably the result of his discourses on the subject with those divines, in whose conversation he delighted, and who

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h It is remarked of the Puritanical writers of those times, that they were not ashamed "to sett forth suppositious pamphlets in favour of their cause, under "the counterfeit names of other men of known piety and parts, whose former "writings have been entertained with general approbation abroad in the world:" Their very names, they thought, would give some countenance to any cause which they could seem in any degree to own. "This," says Dr. Sanderson, "is one of their *piæ fraudes*, or godly cheats; a practice common to them with "the Jesuits, as many other of their practices (ey and of their doctrines too) "are. Such an unhappy fatal coincidence not seldom there is of extremes. "Thus they dealt with the reverend Primate of Armagh, printing his name, "and that in his life-time too (such was their modesty and tenderness of con-"science), to two several pamphlets, the one called 'Vox Hiberniæ,' and the "other 'A Direction to the Parliament,' &c." See "Clavi Trabales," p. 131.

were perfectly competent to decide upon the matter, being men of great candour and known integrity of mind, neither deficient in inquisitiveness, nor liable to be deceived by artifice. And no recent testimony has been since adduced to enervate the evidence that arises from the King's assertion.

Of the authenticity of the Sixth Book no intelligence is communicated.

The Seventh Book is affirmed, "by comparing the "writing of it with other indisputable papers or known "manuscripts of Mr Hooker, to be undoubtedly his own "hand throughout." From this last positive declaration it may be deemed difficult to withhold assent. Our acquiescence in it would have been cheerfully given, if it had been supported by any corroborating arguments:—If we had been informed when these papers and known MSS. were deposited, and by whose nice discriminating eye the collation was made.

The Eighth book has no other mark of legitimacy upon it, has no other character to elucidate its origin, than the bare affirmation, that "it is written by another hand, "as a copy, but interlined in many places with Mr. "Hooker's own character, *as owned by him.*"

Dr. John Spencer, President of Corpus Christi College in Oxford, solicitous to preserve every document, every fragment of the writings of his friend, commissioned Mr. Henry Jackson[1], a fellow collegian, to form a transcript of all the papers which were left. This transcript was bequeathed by Dr. Spencer to Dr. John King, Bishop of London, on whose demise it devolved

[1] Mr. HENRY JACKSON, born in the city of Oxford, was admitted Probationary Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Sept. 5, 1612. He was a great admirer of Mr. Richard Hooker, and of Dr. John Reynolds; whose memories being most dear to him, he did for the sake of the first, industriously collect and publish some of his small treatises, and of the latter several of his epistles and orations. See "Wood's Ath. Ox." Vol. II. col. 291.

upon his son the Bishop of Chichester, by whom it was placed in the Archbishop's library at Lambeth. The dreadful devastation made of that library by Hugh Peters, and the other Goths and Vandals of the age, leaves us no reason to think, that the transcript, whatever it contained, escaped the general wreck. But there is no proof that it actually comprised the books in question. A particular description of it is given by Dr. Spencer himself in the advertisement prefixed to the sixth edition of the Five Books of Ecclesiastical Polity. He assures us concerning these three last Books, that "some evil-disposed minds, whether of malice or covetousness, or wicked blind zeal, it is uncertain, as if they had been Egyptian midwives, as soon as they were born and their father dead, smothered them, and by conveying away the perfect copies, left unto us *nothing but certain old unperfect and mangled draughts, dismembered into pieces, and scattered, like Medea's Absirtus, no favour, no grace, not the shadows of themselves almost remaining in them.*" If he ever arranged these papers with a view to publish them as the finished works of Mr. Hooker, he seems to have altered his design, from a decided conviction that they had no claim to be acknowledged in that light[k].

He intimates, in the advertisement above quoted, that there is a purpose of setting forth the three last Books

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k We learn from a letter, written by Mr. Henry Jackson, and preserved in Fulman's papers, in the library of C. C. C. that Dr. Spencer actually intended to publish the Eighth Book. "Puto præsidem nostrum emissurum sub suo "Nomine D. Hookeri Librum octavum à *me planè vitæ restitutum*. Tulit alter "honores." What pains were taken by Mr. Jackson to render this Eighth Book as perfect as possible, and how doubtful he was whether it really deserved the public light, appears from another letter: "Si totus non essem *in polendo* "*libro octavo* D. Richardi Hooker de Ecclesiasticâ Politiâ, quem præses collegii "nostri mihi commendavit, aliquid ad te misissem, ut tuum explicarem "judicium an lucem necne mereatur."

also, their father's *posthumi*. It may be asked, what hindered this purpose? Nothing certainly, but an assurance that the papers found by Mr. Henry Jackson were in so mangled and mutilated a condition, that they could not appear without manifest injury to the reputation of their author. When it is remembered that Dr. Spencer survived Mr. Hooker fourteen years, we must conclude that his respect for the dignity of his friend's character deterred him from obtruding any work on the public, which he did not consider as indisputably authentic.

It has been already remarked, that a copy of the three last Books is said to have been placed in Archbishop Usher's library. If that learned and sagacious man had deemed the copy authentic, is it possible to suppose that he would have withheld it from the public eye? In fact, his anxiety to preserve and make known the genuine writings of Mr. Hooker, appears from the care with which he selected three short treatises written with the hand of that excellent person, and published by Dr. Bernard, with the Primate's marginal notes, in the "Clavi Trabales:" "Of gold," says Bishop Sanderson, in a preface to this publication, "*quævis bracteola* the very "filings are precious; and our blessed Saviour, when "there was no want of provision, yet gave it in charge "to his disciples, that the offall should not be lost."

Mr. Isaac Walton informs us, that the three perfect Books were lost, and that the wife of Mr. Hooker did not pay much attention to his memory after his death. She permitted Mr. Charke and his companion to ransack his study. These two men, professedly hostile to the Church of England, burnt and tore many of his written papers, assuring her that they were writings not fit to be seen. Thus the invaluable treasure was irrecoverably gone, before Mr. Henry Jackson entered on his commission. Nothing remained for him but the reliques of their savage plunder. Yet Mr. Neale, in his "History of the

Puritans," Vol. I. p. 571, asserts with his usual boldness, that "the three last Books were not published till many "years after the author's death, *though they were depo-* "*sited in the hands of Archbishop Abbot, from whose* "*copy they were printed about the beginning of the civil* "*wars.*" Not to remark the inaccuracy of his observation, for the Seventh Book first appeared in 1662, after the Restoration, we are led to infer from this assertion, that the three Books in their present state as corrected, revised, and prepared by Mr. Hooker for the press, were placed in the library at Lambeth, and there carefully preserved; when it is clear from the best authority, that of Dr. Spencer, that nothing was left but "certain old "unperfect and mangled draughts, dismembered into "pieces, and scattered like Medea's Absirtus."

The excellent Dr. Jeremy Taylor confirms the suspicion, that the three Books are not genuine. In the dedication of his celebrated work, entitled "Doctor Dubitantium," to King Charles II. he observes, that "those cases that concern the power, and offices of "ecclesiastical Superiors and *Supreme*, were, though in "another manner, long since done by the incomparable "Mr. Hooker, in the Seventh and Eighth Books of "Ecclesiastical Polity, or the learned Archbishop of "Spalato: but *their labours were unhappily lost, and* "*never saw the light.*" He adds, "Though I cannot "attain to the strength of these *champions* of David, "yet since their portion of works is fallen into my "hands, I have heartily endeavoured to supply their "loss."

THE END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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